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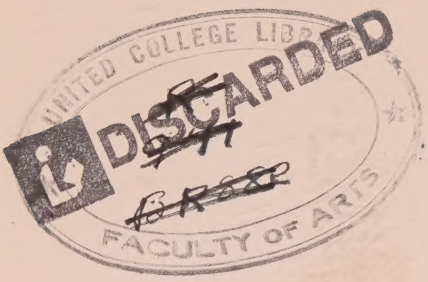
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THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

VOLUME THREE

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The History of Scotland Its Highlands, Regiments and Clans

By

JAMES BROWNE, LL. D.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES
VOLUME III

Francis A. Nicholls & Co.

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THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Volume III

CHAPTER I

MONTROSE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

The successive victories of Montrose, in Scotland, were more than counterbalanced by those of the Parliamentary forces in England. Under different circumstances, the success at Alford might have been attended with consequences the most important to the royal cause; but the defeat of the king, on the fourteenth of June, at Naseby, had raised the hopes of the Covenanters, and prepared their minds to receive the tidings of Baillie's defeat with coolness and moderation.

Upon the day on which the battle of Alford was fought, the Parliament had adjourned to Stirling from Edinburgh, on account of a destructive pestilence which had reached the capital from Newcastle, by way of Kelso. Thither General Baillie, Lord Balcarras, and the Committee of Estates, which had accompanied the covenanting army, repaired, to lay a statement of the late disaster before the Parliament, and to receive instructions as to their future conduct. They arrived just as the Parliament was about sitting, and, with the exception of Baillie, were well received. Balcarras, who had particularly distinguished himself in the battle at the head of his horse, received a vote of thanks, and a simi-

lar acknowledgment was, after some hesitation, awarded to Baillie, notwithstanding some attempts made to prejudice the Parliament against him. But the fact was, they could not dispense in the present emergency with an officer of the military talents of Baillie, who, instead of shrinking from responsibility for the loss of the battle of Alford, offered to stand trial before a court-martial, and to justify his conduct on that occasion. To have withheld, therefore, the usual token of approbation from him, while bestowing it upon an inferior officer, would have been to affix a stigma upon him which he was not disposed to brook consistently with the retention of the command of the army; and as the Parliament resolved to renew his commission, by appointing him to the command of the army then concentrating at Perth, they afterward professed their unqualified satisfaction with him.

After the battle of Alford, the army of Montrose was considerably diminished, in consequence of the Highlanders, according to custom, taking leave of absence, and returning home with the spoil they had taken from the enemy. This singular, though ordinary practice, contributed more to paralyze the exertions of Montrose, and to prevent him from following up his successes, than any event which occurred in the whole course of his campaigns, and it may appear strange that Montrose did not attempt to put an end to it; but the tenure by which he held the services of these hardy mountaineers being that they should be allowed their wonted privileges, any attempt to deviate from their established customs would have been an immediate signal for desertion.

As it would have been imprudent in Montrose, with forces thus impaired, to have followed the fugitives, who would receive fresh succours from the south, he,

after allowing his men some time to refresh themselves, marched to Aberdeen, where he celebrated the funeral obsequies of his valued friend, Lord Gordon, with becoming dignity.

The district of Buchan, in Aberdeenshire, which, from its outlying situation, had hitherto escaped assessment for the supply of the hostile armies, was at this time subjected to the surveillance of Montrose, who despatched a party from Aberdeen into that country to collect all the horses they could find for the use of his army, and also to obtain recruits. About the same time, the Marquis of Huntly, who had been living in Strathnaver for some time, having heard of the death of his eldest son, Lord Gordon, meditated a return to his own country, intending to throw the influence of his name and authority into the royal scale. But as he might be exposed to danger in passing through countries which were hostile to the royal cause, it was arranged between Montrose and the Viscount Aboyne, who had just been created an earl, that the latter should proceed to Strathnaver, with a force of two thousand men to escort his father south. This expedition was, however, abandoned, in consequence of intelligence having been brought to Montrose that the Covenanters were assembling in great strength at Perth.

The Parliament, which, as we have seen, had left Edinburgh, and gone to Stirling on account of the pestilence, had been obliged, in consequence of its appearance in Stirling, to adjourn to Perth, where it was to meet on the twenty-fourth of July; but before leaving Stirling, they ordered a levy of ten thousand foot to be raised in the shires to the south of the Tay, each of which shires was to furnish a proportionate number of men; and to ensure due obedience to this mandate, all noblemen, gentlemen, and heritors were required to attend at

Perth on or before that day well mounted, and to bring with them such forces as they could raise, under a heavy penalty.

On leaving Aberdeen, Montrose took up his quarters at Crabston, situated a few miles from Aberdeen, between the Rivers Don and Dee, where he remained for some time in the expectation of being joined by reinforcements from the Highlands under Major-General Macdonald, who had been absent about two months from the army in quest of recruits; but as these expected succours did not arrive within the time expected, Montrose, impatient of delay, crossed the Dee, and marching over the Grampians, descended into the Mearns, and pitched his camp at Fordoun in Kincardineshire, celebrated for being the burial-place of St. Palladius, and the birthplace of Joannes a Fordun, author of the "Scoti-Chronicon." From thence he despatched a message to the Earl of Aboyne, who was at the time in Aberdeen, to join him with such forces as he had been able to raise. This order the earl immediately obeyed, but on his arrival at the camp with a very small party, Montrose immediately sent him back to the north with instructions to levy additional troops.

Proceeding on his march through Angus and Blair Gowrie to Dunkeld, Montrose had the good fortune to be successively joined by his cousin, Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, at the head of the brave Athole Highlanders, and by Macdonald, his major-general, who brought with him the chief of the Macleans, and about seven hundred of that clan, all animated by a strong feeling of animosity against Argyle and his partisans. He was also joined by John Muidartach, the celebrated captain of the Clan Ranald, at the head of five hundred of his men; by the Macgregors and Macnabs, headed by their respective chieftains; by the Clan Donald, under the

command of the uncles of Glengarry and other officers, Glengarry himself, "who," says Bishop Wishart, "deserves a singular commendation for his bravery and steady loyalty to the king, and his peculiar attachment to Montrose," having never left Montrose since he joined him at the time of his expedition into Argyle. Besides all these, the Stewarts of Appin, some of the Farquharsons of Braemar, and small parties of inferior clans from Badenoch rallied round the standard of Montrose.

Having obtained these timeous reinforcements, Montrose now formed the design of marching upon Perth, and breaking up the Parliament, which had there assembled, and thereafter of proceeding to the south and dissipating the levies which were raising beyond the Tay. But the want of cavalry, an arm in which he was constantly deficient, formed a bar to this plan, and Montrose was, therefore, obliged to defer his project till he should be joined by the Earls of Aboyne and Airly, whom he expected soon with a considerable body of horse. In the meantime, Montrose crossed the Tay at Dunkeld, and encamped at Amulree. The covenanting army, with the exception of the garrison of Perth, was then lying on the south side of the Erne, and a body of four hundred horse was posted near the town for the protection of the Estates or Parliament.

This movement, on the part of Montrose, created some alarm in the minds of the Covenanters, which was greatly increased by a report from their horse, stationed in the neighbourhood of the town, who, seeing some of his scouts approach it, had fancied that he was going to storm it. While this panic was at its height, Montrose, who had no intention of attacking the town, raised his camp, and took up a position in the wood of Methven, about five miles from Perth. During this movement, the town was thrown into a state of the greatest

consternation, from an apprehension that Montrose was about to attack it, and the nobility and the other members of the Parliament were earnestly solicited to secure their safety by a speedy flight, but the Estates remained firm, and could not be persuaded to abandon their posts. In order, if possible, still further to increase the panic in the town, Montrose advanced almost to the very gates of Perth with his horse the following day, which, although not exceeding a hundred, were made to appear formidable by the addition of the baggage horses, on which some musketeers were mounted. This act of bold defiance magnified the fears of those who were in the town, and made them imagine that Montrose was well provided in cavalry. The covenanting troops, therefore, were afraid to venture beyond the gates; and Montrose, having thus easily accomplished his object, was encouraged, still further, to cross the Erne at Dupplin, when he openly reconnoitred the enemy's army on the south of that river, and surveyed the Strath with great deliberation and coolness without interruption.

Both armies remained in their positions for several days without attempting anything, each waiting for reinforcements. During all this time, the enemy had been deceived respecting the strength of Montrose's horse, but having learned his weakness in that respect, and the deception which he had practised so successfully upon them, and being joined by three regiments from Fife, they resolved to offer him battle. Montrose, however, from his great inferiority of numbers, particularly in horse, was not in a condition to accept the challenge, and wisely declined it. Accordingly, when he saw the enemy advancing toward him, he prepared to retreat among the neighbouring mountains; but to deceive the enemy, and to enable him to carry off his

baggage, he drew out his army as if he intended to fight, placing his horse in front, and securing the passes into the mountains with guards. While making these dispositions, he sent off his baggage toward the hills under an escort; and when he thought the baggage out of danger, he gave orders to his army to march off in close rank; and to cover its retreat and protect it from the cavalry of the enemy, he placed his horse, lined as usual with his best musketeers, in the rear.

As soon as Baillie, the covenanting general, perceived that Montrose was in full retreat, he despatched General Hurry with the cavalry in pursuit of him; but from a most unaccountable delay on Hurry's part in crossing the Powe, — so slow, indeed, had his movements been, that Baillie's foot overtook him at the fords of the Almond, — that Montrose had almost reached the passes of the mountains before he was overtaken. Chagrined at his easy escape, and determined to perform some striking exploit before Montrose should retire into his fastnesses, a body of three hundred of the best-mounted covenanting cavalry set off at full gallop after him, and attacked him with great fury, using at the same time the most insulting and abusive language. To put an end to this annoyance, Montrose selected twenty expert Highlanders, who from habit were good marksmen, and requested them to bring down some of the assailants. Accordingly, these marksmen advanced in a crouching attitude, concealing their guns, and having approached within musket-shot, they took deliberate aim, and soon brought down the more advanced of the party. This unexpected disaster made the assailants more cautious in their advances, and caused them to resolve upon an immediate retreat; but the marksmen were so elated with their success, that they actually pursued them down into the plain, "and resolutely

attacked the whole party, who putting spurs to their horses, fled with the utmost precipitation, like so many deer before the hunters." In this retreat Montrose did not lose a single man.

After giving over this fruitless pursuit, the enemy returned to Montrose's camp at Methven, where, according to Wishart, they committed a most barbarous act in revenge of their late affront, by butchering some of the wives of the Highlanders and Irish who had been left behind. Montrose took up his quarters at Little Dunkeld, both because he was there perfectly secure from the attacks of the enemy's cavalry, and because it was a convenient station to wait for the reinforcements of horse which he daily expected from the north under the Earls of Airly and Aboyne. Although both armies lay close together for several days, nothing was attempted on either side. The covenanting general now became quite disgusted with the service in consequence of the jealousies and suspicions which it was too evident the committee entertained of him, and an event occurred which increased his displeasure. This was the sudden return of the Fife men to their country, who preferred their domestic comforts to the vicissitudes of war, but who unfortunately were, as we shall soon see, to be sacrificed at its shrine.

At length, the Earl of Aboyne, accompanied by Sir Nathaniel Gordon, arrived at Little Dunkeld, but with a force much inferior in numbers to that expected. They only brought two hundred horse and 120 musketeers, which last were mounted upon carriage horses. The smallness of their number was compensated, however, in a great measure by their steadiness and bravery. The Earl of Airly, and his son, Sir David Ogilvy, joined Montrose at the same time, along with a troop of eighty horse, consisting chiefly of gentlemen of the name of Ogilvy,

among whom was Alexander Ogilvy, son of Sir John Ogilvy of Innerquharity, a young man who had already distinguished himself in the field.

Never, at any former period of his eventful career, did the probabilities of ultimate success on the side of Montrose appear to greater advantage than now. His army, ardent and devoted to the royal cause, now amounted to nearly five thousand foot and about five hundred horse, the greater part of which consisted of brave and experienced warriors whom he had often led to victory. A considerable portion of his army was composed of some of the most valiant of the Highland clans, led by their respective chiefs, among whom the renowned captain of Clan Ranald, in himself a host, stood conspicuous. These last were animated by a feeling of the most unbounded attachment to what they considered the cause of their chiefs, and by a deadly spirit of revenge for the cruelties which the Covenanters under Argyle had exercised in the Highlands. The Macleans and the Athole Highlanders, in particular, longed for an opportunity of retaliating upon the covenanting partisans of Argyle, the injuries which they had repeatedly received at his hands, and thereby wiping out the stain, which, as they conceived, had been cast upon them. But fortunate as Montrose now was in having such an army at his disposal, the chances in his favour were greatly enhanced by this lucky circumstance, that whereas, in his former campaigns, he had to watch the movements of different armies and to fight them in detail, he was now enabled, from having annihilated or dispersed the whole armies formerly opposed to him, to concentrate his strength and to direct all his energies to one point. The only bar, which now presented itself to the entire subjugation of Scotland to the authority of the king, was the army of Baillie, and the defeat or

destruction of this body now became the immediate object of Montrose. His resolution to attack the enemy was hastened by the receipt of information, that the Fife regiments had left Baillie's camp and returned home, and that the general himself was so dissatisfied with the conduct of the covenanting committee, who thwarted all his plans and usurped his authority, that he was about to resign the command of the army.

Montrose, therefore, without loss of time, raised his camp, and descending into the Lowlands, arrived at Logie Almond, where he halted his foot. From thence he went out with his cavalry to reconnoitre the enemy, and came in full view of them before sunset. They made no attempt to molest him, and testified their dread of this unexpected visit by retiring within their lines. Early next morning, Montrose again rode out to make his observations, but was surprised to learn that the enemy had abandoned their camp at Methven during the night and had retired across the Erne, and taken up a position at Kilgraston near the bridge of Erne. Montrose immediately put his army in motion toward the Erne, which he crossed by the bridge of Nether Gask, about eight miles above Kilgraston. He then proceeded forward as far as the Kirk of Drone, by which movement he for the first time succeeded in throwing open to the operations of his army the whole of the country south of the Tay, from which the enemy had hitherto carefully excluded him. The enemy, alarmed at Montrose's approach, made every preparation for defending themselves by strengthening the position in which they had entrenched themselves, and which, from the narrowness of the passes and the nature of the ground, was well adapted for sustaining an attack.

Montrose was most anxious to bring the enemy to

an engagement before they should be joined by a large levy then raising in Fife; but as they were too advantageously posted to be attacked with much certainty of success, and as he could not by any means induce them to leave their ground, he, after spending two or three days in fruitless attempts to entice them from their position, marched to Kinross for the double purpose of putting an end to the Fife levies and of withdrawing the enemy from their position, so as to afford him an opportunity of attacking them under more favourable circumstances. This movement had the effect of drawing Baillie from his stronghold, who cautiously followed Montrose at a respectful distance. In the course of his march, Baillie was again joined by the three Fife regiments. On arriving at Kinross in the evening, Montrose learned from an advanced party he had sent out to collect information through the country, under the command of Colonel Nathaniel Gordon and Sir William Rollock, that the people of Fife were in arms, a piece of intelligence which made him resolve immediately to retrace his steps, judging it imprudent to risk a battle in such a hostile district. Although the men of Fife were stern Covenanters, and were ready to fight for the Covenant on their own soil, yet living for the most part in towns, and following out the sober pursuits of a quiet and domestic life, they had no relish for war, and disliked the service of the camp. Hence the speedy return of the Fife regiments from the camp at Methven to their own country, and hence another reason which induced Montrose to leave their unfriendly soil, viz., that they would probably again abandon Baillie, should he attempt to follow Montrose in his progress west.

Accordingly, after remaining a night at Kinross, Montrose, the following morning, marched toward

Alloa, in the neighbourhood of which he arrived in the evening, and passed the night in the wood of Tullybody. The Irish plundered the town of Alloa, and the adjoining lordship, which belonged to the Earl of Mar; but, notwithstanding of this unprovoked outrage, the earl and Lord Erskine gave Montrose, the Earl of Airly, and the principal officers of the army an elegant entertainment in the castle of Alloa. Montrose, however, did not delay the march of his army while partaking of the hospitality of the Earl of Mar, but despatched Macdonald immediately west to Stirling with the foot, retaining only the horse to serve him as a body-guard. In this route the Macleans laid waste the parishes of Muckhart and Dollar, of which the Marquis of Argyle was the superior, and burnt Castle Campbell, the principal residence of the Argyle family in the Lowlands, in requital of similar acts done by the marquis and his followers in the country of the Macleans.

As the pestilence was still raging in the town of Stirling, Montrose avoided it altogether, lest his army might catch the infection. He halted within three miles of the town, where his army passed the night, and being apprised next morning, by one of Baillie's scouts who had been taken prisoner, that Baillie was close at hand with the whole of his army, Montrose marched quickly up to the fords of Frew, about eight miles above Stirling bridge, and there crossed the Forth. Pursuing his march the following morning in the direction of Glasgow, he made a short halt about six miles from Stirling, to ascertain the enemy's movements, and being informed that Baillie had not yet crossed the Forth, he marched to Kilsyth, where he encamped. During the day, Baillie passed the Forth by Stirling bridge, and marching forward, came within view of Montrose's army, and encamped that evening within three miles of Kilsyth.

The covenanting army had, in its progress westward, followed exactly the track of Montrose through the vale of the Devon. The Marquis of Argyle, availing himself of this circumstance, caused the house of Menstrie, the seat of the Earl of Stirling, the king's secretary, and that of Airthrie, belonging to Sir John Graham of Braco, to be burnt. This was done by way of retaliation for the destruction of Castle Campbell and the properties of his vassals by the Macleans. He, moreover, sent an insolent message to the Earl of Mar, notifying to him that, on the return of the army from the pursuit of Montrose, he, the earl, might calculate on having his castle also burnt, for the hospitality he had shown Montrose.

The conjecture of Montrose, that the Fife regiments would not cross the Forth, was not altogether without foundation. In fact, when they arrived near Stirling, they positively refused to advance farther, and excused themselves by alleging that they were raised on the express condition that they should not be called upon to serve out of their own shire, and that, having already advanced beyond its limits, they would on no account cross the Forth. But their obstinacy was overcome by the all-powerful influence of the ministers, who, in addition to the usual Scriptural appeals, "told them jolly tales that Lanark, Glencairn, and Eglinton were lifting an army to join them, and therefore entreated that they would, for only one day more, go out," until that army approached, when they should be discharged.

While the Fife regiments were thus persuaded to expose themselves to the unforeseen destruction which unfortunately awaited them, an incident occurred on the opposite bank of the Forth, which betokened ill for the future prospects of the covenanting army. This will be best explained by stating the matter in General

Baillie's own words. "A little above the park (the king's park at Stirling), I halted until the Fife regiments were brought up, hearing that the rebels were marching toward Kilsyth. After the upcoming of these regiments, the Marquis of Argyle, Earl of Crawford, and Lord Burleigh, and, if I mistake not, the Earl of Tulliebardin, the Lords Elcho and Balcarras, with some others, came up. My lord marquis asked me what next was to be done. I answered, the direction should come from his lordship and those of the committee. My lord demanded what reason was for this. I answered, I found myself so slighted in everything belonging to a commander-in-chief, that, for the short time I was to stay with them, I would absolutely submit to their direction and follow it. The marquis desired me to explain myself, which I did in these particulars, sufficiently known to my lord marquis and the other lords and gentlemen then present. I told his lordship: (1) Prisoners of all sorts were exchanged without my knowledge; the traffickers therein received passes from others, and sometimes passing within two miles of me, did neither acquaint me with their business, nor, at their return, where, or in what posture, they had left the enemy. (2) While I was present, others did sometimes undertake the command of the army. (3) Without either my order or knowledge, fire was raised, and that destroyed, which might have been a recompense to some good deserver, for which I would not be answerable to the public. All which things considered, I should in anything freely give my own opinion, but follow the judgment of the committee, and the rather because that was the last day of my undertaking." It is here necessary to state, by way of explanation, that Baillie had, in consequence of the previous conduct of the Committee, resigned his commission, and had only been induced, at the earnest solicitation of the

Parliament, to continue his services for a definite period, which, it appears, was just on the point of expiring.

The differences between Baillie and the Committee being patched up, the covenanting army proceeded on the fourteenth of August in the direction of Denny, and, having crossed the Carron at Hollandbush, encamped, as we have stated, about three miles from Kilsyth.

Before the arrival of Baillie, Montrose had received information, which made him resolve to hazard a battle immediately. The intelligence he had obtained was to this effect, that the Earls of Cassillis, Eglinton, and Glencairn, and other heads of the Covenanters, were actively engaged in levying forces in the west of Scotland, and that the Earl of Lanark had already raised a body of a thousand foot and five hundred horse in Clydesdale, among the vassals and dependents of the Hamilton family, and that this force was within twelve miles of Kilsyth.

Having taken his resolution, Montrose made the necessary arrangements for receiving the enemy, by placing his men in the best position which the nature of the ground afforded. In front of his position were several cottages and gardens of which he took possession. Baillie, seeing the advantageous position chosen by Montrose, would have willingly delayed battle till either the expected reinforcements from the west should arrive, or till Montrose should be induced to become the assailant; but his plans were overruled by Argyle and the other members of the Committee, who insisted that he should immediately attack Montrose. Accordingly, early in the morning, he put his army in motion from Hollandbush, and advanced near Auchinclogh, about two miles to the east of Kilsyth, where he halted. As the ground between him and Montrose was full of

quagmires, which effectually prevented Montrose from attacking him in front, he proposed to take up a defensive position without advancing farther, and await an attack. But here, again, the Committee interposed, and when he was in the very act of arranging the stations of his army, they advised him to take a position on a hill on his right, which they considered more suitable. It was in vain that Baillie remonstrated against what he, and as the event showed, justly considered an imprudent advice, — the Committee were inexorable in their resolution, and Baillie had no alternative but to obey. In justice, however, to Lord Balcarras, it must be mentioned that he disapproved of the views of the Committee.

When Montrose saw the covenanting army approach from Hollandbush, he was exceedingly delighted, as, from the excellent state of his army, the courageous bearing of his men, and the advantage of his position, he calculated upon obtaining a decisive victory, which might enable him to advance into England and retrieve the affairs of his sovereign in that kingdom. But while Montrose was thus joyfully anticipating a victory, which, he flattered himself, would be crowned with results the most favourable to the royal cause, an incident occurred which might have proved fatal to his hopes, had he not, with that wonderful self-possession and consummate prudence for which he was so distinguished, turned that very incident to his own advantage. Among the covenanting cavalry was a regiment of cuirassiers, the appearance of whose armour, glittering in the sun, struck such terror into Montrose's horse, that they hesitated about engaging with such formidable antagonists, and, while riding along the line, to encourage his men and give the necessary directions, Montrose heard his horse muttering among themselves

and complaining that they were now for the first time to fight with men clad in iron, whose bodies would be quite impenetrable to their swords. The crisis was important, and not a moment was to be lost in removing the dangerous impression from their minds. To have led such a body of men into battle, labouring under the influence of fear, would have been to rush upon open destruction; and to have avoided battle, under such circumstances, supposing that a battle could have been avoided, would have been tantamount to a defeat. There have been but few commanders who would not have been disconcerted or embarrassed by an event so sudden and unexpected, and fewer still who could have, almost in an instant of time, by the mere dint of genius alone, revived the drooping spirits of their men; but Montrose is one of those very rare instances in which, by a singular combination of genius and presence of mind, under instant difficulties, those very difficulties themselves are made subservient to their own removal. When the terror of a foe has once taken hold of the mind, it can only be sufficiently eradicated by supplanting it with a feeling of contempt for the object of its dread, and no man was better fitted by nature than Montrose for inspiring such a feeling into the minds of his troops. Accordingly, scarcely had the murmurings of his horse broken upon his ears, when he rode up to the head of his cavalry, and (pointing to the cuirassiers) thus addressed his men: "Gentlemen, these are the same men you beat at Alford, that ran away from you at Auldearn, Tippermuir, etc.; they are such cowardly rascals that their officers could not bring them to look you in the face till they had clad them in armour; to show our contempt of them we'll fight them in our shirts." No sooner had these words been uttered, when, to add to the impression they could not fail to produce, Montrose threw off his coat and waistcoat

with great vigour, and, drawing his sword with the mien of a hero, stood before his men, at once an object of their wonder and a model for their imitation. The effect was instantaneous. The example thus set by Montrose was immediately followed by the whole army, every man stripping himself to his shirt, and the cavalry, partaking in the general enthusiasm, assured themselves of victory. As the day was uncommonly hot and oppressive, the troops found great relief by disburdening themselves of their clothes, and the infantry were, in consequence, enabled to display greater agility in combat. The extraordinary appearance of Montrose's men, after they had parted with their clothes, excited the astonishment of the Covenanters, and as they could only attribute such a singular preparation for battle to a fixed determination on the part of the Royalists to conquer or to die, fearful doubts arose in their minds as to the probable result of the contest in which they were just about to engage.

In moving to take up the new position which had been assigned to Baillie's army by the Committee, the utmost disorder prevailed among the covenanting army, which the general was unable to correct. Indeed, so unruly had the troops become, that some regiments, instead of taking the stations assigned to them by the commander, took up, at the suggestion of Argyle, quite different ground, while others, in utter disregard of Baillie's instructions, actually selected positions for themselves. Thus, at the moment the battle was about to begin, Baillie found all his plans completely overruled, and as he now saw how utterly impossible it then was for him to carry any of his contemplated arrangements into effect, he was necessitated to engage Montrose under the most unfavourable circumstances.

The covenanting general, however, might have so

accommodated himself in the unexpected dilemma in which he had been placed as to have prevented the disastrous result which followed, had not his horse regiments, from an impression that Montrose had begun a retreat, rashly commenced the action before all the infantry had come up, by attempting to carry the cottages and gardens in which the advanced guard of Montrose was placed. Although they made a violent charge, they were as warmly received by Montrose's musketeers, who, being protected by the dikes and enclosures, kept up such a galling fire upon their assailants as to oblige them to retreat with precipitation and some loss.

A body of about a thousand Highlanders, who were posted next to Montrose's advanced guard, became so suddenly elated with this success that, without waiting for orders from Montrose, they immediately ran up that part of the hill where the main body of the covenanting army was posted. Montrose was highly displeased with the Highlanders for this rash act, which seemed to threaten them with instant destruction; but there was no time for remonstrance, and as he saw an absolute necessity for supporting this intrepid body, he stifled his displeasure, and began to consider how he could most effectually afford that support. Owing to the tardy advance of the enemy's rear, it was some little time before the covenanting army attacked this resolute body. At length, three troops of horse and a body of about two thousand foot were seen advancing against them, and in a short time both parties closed upon each other. The Highlanders, as usual, displayed great intrepidity and firmly maintained their ground; but as it was evident to Montrose that they could not long withstand the overwhelming force opposed to them, and as their defeat might have the most injurious effect upon the rest of his army, Montrose resolved immediately

to send a force to their relief; but, when giving orders for that purpose, he was exceedingly mortified to find that there existed a general unwillingness among his men to engage in a piece of service which they considered extremely hazardous. Many even positively refused, when ordered, to undertake such a duty; but, notwithstanding of this embarrassment, Montrose did not lose his accustomed presence of mind. After several ineffectual attempts to induce different parties of his army to volunteer in defence of the brave men who were struggling for their existence within view of their companions in arms, Montrose, as a *dernier ressort*, appealed to his tried friend, the Earl of Airly, in behalf of the rash men who had thus exposed themselves to imminent danger. He represented to him the perilous situation in which they had, by their imprudence, placed themselves, — that, if not immediately supported, they would assuredly be destroyed by the enemy's horse, and that as the eyes of the whole army were in this conjuncture directed toward him, the earl, as the fittest officer, indeed the only one who, from tried experience, joined to great discretion, could extricate the Highlanders from the perils which beset them, he begged of him, in the name of God, to perform the duty expected of him. This appeal to the chivalrous feelings of the venerable earl met with a ready and willing response from him, and after stating his readiness to undertake the duty assigned him, he immediately put himself at the head of a troop of his own horse, commanded by Colonel John Ogilvy of Baldavie, who had distinguished himself in the Swedish service, and rode off with great speed toward the enemy. He instantly ordered his squadron to charge the enemy's horse, who stood the attack with firmness at first, but they could not long withstand the impetuous bravery of the Ogilvies, and were forced to retire. The Earl of

Airly did not allow them an opportunity of rallying, but kept pressing so closely upon them that they got entangled among the covenanting foot, which they put into disorder.

As soon as Baillie perceived that his horse were falling back, he endeavoured to bring up his reserve to support them; but this body, which consisted chiefly of the Fife militia, became so alarmed at the retreat of the horse, that they immediately abandoned their ranks and fled. On the other hand, the rest of Montrose's men, encouraged by the success of the Ogilvies, could no longer restrain themselves, and, rushing forward upon the enemy with a loud shout, completed the disorder. The wild appearance of the Royalists, who were almost in a state of complete nudity, — for, with the exception of the cavalry, who had thrown off merely their upper garments, the whole of Montrose's troops had cast away every article of their apparel but their shirts, — added to the dreadful yells which they set up, created such a panic among the astonished Covenanters, that, in an instant, and as if by a simultaneous impulse, every man threw away his arms, and endeavoured to secure his personal safety by flight. In the general rout which ensued, the covenanting horse, in their anxiety to escape, galloped through the flying foot, and trampled many of their companions in arms almost to death.

In the pursuit which followed, Montrose's men cut down the defenceless Covenanters without mercy, and so great was the carnage, that, out of a body of upwards of six thousand foot, probably not more than a hundred escaped with their lives. The Royalists were so intent upon hewing down the unfortunate foot, that a considerable part of the cavalry effected their escape. Some of them, however, in the hurry of their flight, having ran unawares into a large morass, called Dolater bog, now

forming a part of the bed of the Forth and Clyde canal, there perished, and, many years afterward, the bodies of men and horses were dug up from the bog, without any marks of decomposition; and there is a tradition still current, that one man was found upon horseback, fully attired in his military costume, in the very posture in which he had sunk. Very few prisoners were taken, and with the exception of Sir William Murray of Blebo, James Arnot, brother to Lord Burleigh, and Colonels Dyce and Wallace, and a few other gentlemen, who received quarter, and, after being well-treated by Montrose, were afterward released upon parole, all the officers of the covenanting army escaped. Some of them fled to Stirling, and took temporary refuge in the castle; others galloped down to the south shore of the Frith of Forth. Among the latter, Argyle was the most conspicuous, who, according to Bishop Guthry, "never looked over his shoulder until, after twenty miles riding, he reached the South Queensferry, where he possessed himself of a boat again." Wishart sarcastically observes, that this was the third time that Argyle had "saved himself by means of a boat; and, even then, he did not reckon himself secure till they had weighed anchor and carried the vessel out to sea."

The whole of the baggage, arms, and stores belonging to the covenanting army were captured by the Royalists. The loss on the side of Montrose was, as usual, extremely trifling, amounting only to six or eight men, three of whom were of the Ogilvies, who fell in the charge which decided the fortune of the day.

The news of this disastrous and melancholy victory speedily spread throughout the kingdom and filled it with mourning. The plague, which had devastated some of the most populous of the covenanting districts, was still carrying on its depopulating career, and the

spirits of the people, already broken and subdued under that afflicting scourge of Providence, were reduced to a state almost bordering on despair when they received the afflicting intelligence of the utter annihilation of an army on which their only hopes were placed. No alternative, therefore, now remained for them but unconditional submission to the conqueror, by throwing themselves entirely upon the clemency of Montrose, and accordingly, deputies were sent to him from different parts of the kingdom, to assure him of the return of the people to their allegiance to the king, to proffer their obedience to Montrose as his lieutenant, and to offer him assistance in support of the royal cause. The nobility and other persons of note who had hitherto kept aloof, or whose loyalty had been questionable, also crowded to the royal standard to congratulate Montrose upon the favourable aspect of affairs and to offer their services.

While at Kilsyth, two commissioners, Sir Robert Douglas and Mr. Archibald Fleming, commissary, arrived at Montrose's camp on the part of the inhabitants of Glasgow, to obtain favour and forgiveness, by congratulating him upon his success, and inviting him to visit their city. Montrose received these commissioners and the other numerous deputations and individuals who afterward waited on him, not merely with courtesy but with kindness, and promised to bury all past occurrences in perfect oblivion, but on the condition that they should return to their allegiance and conduct themselves in future as loyal subjects. "The whole country now," says Wishart, "resounded Montrose's praise. His unparalleled magnanimity and bravery, his happiness in devising his plan of operations, and his quickness in executing them, his unshaken resolution and intrepidity even in the greatest dangers, and his patience in bear-

ing the severest hardships and fatigues; his faithfulness and strict observance of his promises to such as submitted, and his clemency toward his prisoners; in short, that heroic virtue which displayed itself in all his actions, was extolled to the skies, and filled the mouths of all ranks of men, and several poems and panegyrics were wrote upon this occasion." It is believed, however, that there was little sincerity in these professions.

This submission of the people was accelerated by the dispersion of the covenanting nobility, an event which put a temporary end to the government which they had established. Argyle, Crawford, Lanark, and others sought protection in Berwick and Glencairn, and Cassillis took refuge in Ireland.

Montrose might have now marched directly upon, and seized the capital, where many of his friends were confined as prisoners; but he considered it of more importance to march to the west and disperse some levies which were there raising. Accordingly, after refreshing his troops two days at Kilsyth, he despatched a strong body under the command of Macdonald, his major-general, into Ayrshire to suppress a rising under the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn; and with the remainder of his army he proceeded toward Glasgow, which he entered amidst the general acclamations of the citizens. Here Montrose immediately commenced an inquiry into the conduct of the leading Covenanters of the city, some of whom he put to death as a terror to others, a circumstance which detracts from the usual clemency of Montrose, but perhaps he considered it necessary to show an example of rigour among a population on whose fidelity he probably placed little reliance. Montrose remained only a day in Glasgow, and encamped the following day on Bothwell moor, about twelve miles from the city. His object in doing so was to put an end

to some excesses on the part of his Irish and Highland troops, in which they were beginning to indulge, and which from the precarious tenure of their services, and his inability to pay them, he could not venture to control by the severities of martial law. And as he was apprehensive that some of his men might lurk behind, or visit the city for the purpose of plunder, he allowed the inhabitants to form a guard among themselves to protect it. The citizens, in gratitude for the favour and clemency thus shown them, presented Montrose with the sum of 10,000 merks.

In the meantime, Major-General Macdonald arrived in Ayrshire, where he was received with open arms. The levies which had been raised in the west quietly dispersed, and the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn fled to Ireland. The Countess of Loudon, whose husband had acted a conspicuous part against the king, received Macdonald with great kindness at Loudon castle, and not only embraced him in her arms, but entertained him with great splendour and hospitality; and she even sent a servant to Montrose to offer her respects to him.

During Montrose's stay at Bothwell, where he remained till the fourth of September, he was waited upon by many of the nobility in person, to congratulate him upon his recent victory, and to tender their services. Others sent similar communications by their friends. The Marquis of Douglas, the Earls of Linlithgow and Annandale, the Lords Seton, Drummond, Fleming, Maderty, Carnegie and Johnston were among the first who came forward. Deputations also arrived from the shires of Linlithgow, Lanark, Renfrew, and Ayr, and also from the towns of Greenock, Ayr, and Irvine, to implore forgiveness for past offences, and to give pledges for their future loyalty. Montrose received them all

very graciously, and relying upon their assurances, granted them an amnesty.

Montrose expected that the city of Edinburgh, which had been the focus of rebellion, would have followed the example of Glasgow and the other towns; but whether from obstinacy or from the dread of a refusal of pardon, the authorities did not send commissioners to Montrose, and it was not until a body of the Royalist horse appeared within four miles of the city, that they resolved to proffer their submission, and to throw themselves on the mercy of the conqueror. The following interesting and circumstantial account of Montrose's intentions, with regard to the city, and of the conduct of the inhabitants on this trying occasion, is given by Doctor Wishart, who was, at the time in question, a prisoner in the jail of Edinburgh.

"Montrose's first and principal concern, after the victory at Kilsyth, was about his friends in prison. His generous soul was touched with their miserable condition; they had continued long under the hardships of a nasty and squalid imprisonment in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and had been condemned to death for no other alleged crime, but their loyalty to their sovereign, and were daily expecting the execution of this sentence. He, therefore, despatched his nephew, Archibald, master of Napier, and Nathaniel Gordon, with a select body of horse, to Edinburgh, in order to summon the city to surrender, to secure its obedience and fidelity, and to set the prisoners at liberty; but if they refused to submit, then their orders were to attack them with fire and sword. When they came within four miles of the town they stopped, not intending to approach nearer, unless they were obliged by the obstinacy of the citizens; this they did, both to preserve the city and its inhabitants from the fury and rapacious insolence of their

soldiers, who, considering it as the chief spring and fomenter of this accursed rebellion, might, in the transports of their rage and fury, be hurried to commit the greatest cruelties, and perhaps set the city on flames, and consume it to ashes; a thing Montrose had principally cautioned them to guard against; as also to preserve their own men from the infection of the plague, which then raged in that place and neighbourhood, and daily cut off great numbers.

"When the news of their approach reached the town, an universal consternation seized all ranks; they despaired of obtaining terms, and appeared as frantic as if the city had been already in a blaze, and an enraged enemy murdering and destroying within its gates. Many, conscious of their guilt, accused themselves as sacrilegious, perjured and ungrateful traitors, and unworthy of that clemency and forgiveness for which they so ardently prayed.

"They privately made application to the prisoners, and, in the most humble manner, entreated them, out of compassion to the place, which was already ruined by the pestilence, and to the miserable remains of the inhabitants, that they would intercede for them with Montrose, and by their good offices avert that rage, which they now acknowledged they had justly provoked. All their hopes, they said, were centred in their undertaking this generous office, as the only mean to preserve a sinking city from utter destruction. They acknowledged themselves guilty of all the crimes laid to their charge, but solemnly protested, that should they at this time experience his clemency and goodness, they should atone for their former rebellion by the most exemplary loyalty and implicit duty and obedience. The prisoners, whom, not long before, even the meanest of the mob had treated in the most contemptible and despiteful manner,

and had devoted to the gibbet, unmindful of the cruel treatment they had received, further than that the sensible remembrance of it prompted them to return thanks to God for thus bringing about their preservation and deliverance at a time when they so little expected it, encouraged their enemies, and told them, that neither the king himself, nor Montrose, his lieutenant, had any pleasure in the ruin and destruction of his subjects, but earnestly wished and laboured for their safety and prosperity, could they be only brought to see it themselves. They advised them forthwith to send commissioners to Montrose, to implore his pardon, as nothing could more effectually contribute to mollify the heart of a conqueror than a speedy submission; promising to intercede with Montrose in their behalf; and they did not doubt but his great and generous soul would allow itself to be overcome with the humble entreaties and supplications of a distressed city.

"The citizens of Edinburgh, thus encouraged with hopes of success, immediately convened the town council, in order to make choice of proper commissioners to send to Montrose. Among the prisoners there were two especially eminent for their high birth, and thoroughly acquainted with Montrose. The first of these was Ludovick, Earl of Crawfurd, chief of the ancient and noble family of the Lindesays, a person famous for his military achievements abroad, in the Swedish, Austrian, and Spanish services. The Earl of Lindesay, his cousin, from an ambition to attain to the title and honours of Crawfurd, thirsted for his blood, and had such address and influence with the Covenanters as to get him condemned. The only crime they laid to his charge, was, that he had served the king, his master, with the greatest fidelity and bravery, in his capacity as a soldier, and they feared would still do so, were he left alive.

The other was James, Lord Ogilvy, son to the Earl of Airly, who was very highly esteemed by Montrose, and was, besides, odious to the rebels, both for his own and his father's courage and power. And, as he was a declared enemy to Argyle, both on account of the ancient animosities that subsisted betwixt the families, and some recent injuries they had received from Argyle, he was, therefore, accused of the same crime with Crawfurd, and condemned to the same punishment. The council of Edinburgh made choice of these two noblemen from among the prisoners, and set them at liberty, earnestly imploring them to use their interest with the lord-governor in their behalf, and assist their deputies in obtaining their request, thereby to preserve a city, already sore afflicted with the avenging hand of Heaven; at the same time wishing destruction to themselves and their posterity, if ever they should prove unmindful of the favour, or ungrateful to their benefactors.

"These two noblemen cheerfully undertook this office, to the great satisfaction of the whole city, and, having joined the delegates, went out to meet the master of Napier. In his way toward Edinburgh, Napier had released his father and spouse, Sir George Stirling of Keir, his brother-in-law, and his sisters, from the prison of Linlithgow, to which they had been sent by the Covenanters from the castle of Edinburgh; and, now being attended with this agreeable company and by the city delegates, Mr. Napier returned directly to his uncle.

"Montrose was transported with joy at the sight of his dearest friends, Crawfurd and Ogilvy, whom he met with the tenderest embraces of friendship, having been so long deprived of their company and assistance. He congratulated them on their safety and deliverance, and gave them all the respect and accommodation

possible, as a consolation, in some degree, for their long confinement. On the other hand, they expressed the utmost gratitude to him, and extolled him as their avenger and deliverer; both parties thus seeming to vie with one another in mutual expressions of their affection and esteem.

"The city delegates were then admitted to audience; they made a free surrender to him of the town, and humbly deprecated his vengeance and implored his pardon and forgiveness, promising, in name of the whole inhabitants, an inviolable fidelity and obedience for the future, and committing themselves and all their concerns to his patronage and protection, which they humbly entreated he would grant them. They promised, also, immediately to release all the prisoners in their custody, and desired him to assure himself that anything else he should desire of them should be instantly complied with. The town, they said, had been almost depopulated by a dreadful plague, so that no supplies of men could be expected from it; but they were ready to contribute all they could to defray the expense of what troops he might raise in other places. Above all, they most earnestly implored him to intercede for them with their most gracious and merciful king, to obtain his pity and pardon, and that he would not condemn the whole city for the crime of rebellion, in which they had been involved by the craft and example of a few seditious men, armed with power and authority. Montrose gave them reason to hope for the royal forgiveness, and the only conditions he required of them, were, sacredly to observe their loyalty and allegiance to his Majesty for the future; to renounce all correspondence with the rebels, whether within or without the kingdom; the castle of Edinburgh, which he well knew was then in their power, he required they should surrender to the

king's officers; and that, as soon as the delegates returned to the city, all the prisoners should be immediately set at liberty, and sent to his camp."

Although the commissioners agreed to these conditions, and promised to perform them, the only one they ever fulfilled was that which stipulated the release of the prisoners, who were immediately on the return of the commissioners sent to Montrose's camp, — in the non-fulfilment of which conditions they were guilty of a piece of deceit, which, says Wishart, "was agreeable to their usual perfidy and ingratitude." Indeed, it was scarcely to be expected from the character of the times, that the citizens of Edinburgh, who had all along been warm partisans of the covenanting interest, would show a readiness to comply with stipulations which had been extorted from their commissioners, under the circumstances we have mentioned.

While at Bothwell Montrose received different communications from the king, who was then at Oxford. The most important of these were two commissions under the great seal, one appointing Montrose captain-general, and lieutenant-governor of Scotland, and conferring on him full powers to raise forces, punish state offenders, and make knights, etc., and the other authorizing him to summon a Parliament to meet at Glasgow, to settle the affairs of the kingdom. The bearer of these important documents was Sir Robert Spottiswood, formerly president of the court of session, and who now acted as secretary of state for Scotland. As a person so well known as Sir Robert could not travel by any of the ordinary roads without risk of apprehension, he took a circuitous route from Oxford, passing through Wales, and from thence crossing over to the Isle of Man, he took shipping and landed in the West Highlands. From Lochaber he proceeded down into

Athole, whence he was conducted by a party of Athole men to Montrose, at Bothwell Moor.

The instructions brought by Sir Robert Spottiswood, regarding the holding of a Parliament and the matters connected therewith, were in the meantime superseded by orders from the king of a later date, brought by a more direct route. By these he was directed to march immediately to the borders, where he would, it was said, be joined by the Earls of Roxburghe, Traquair, and Home, and the other Royalist nobility of the Southern shires at the head of their numerous vassals and tenants, as well as by a body of horse which his Majesty would send from England, and that with these united forces, he should watch the motions of General David Leslie, who was advancing to the north with a body of six thousand cavalry. In fact, Leslie, who had acquired great celebrity by his conduct in the battle of Long Marston Moor, had reached Berwick in the beginning of September, having been called thither on his road to Hereford by the covenanting nobility, who had taken refuge there after the battle of Kilsyth.

Pursuant to raising his camp for the Tweed, Montrose reviewed his army on the third of September, on which occasion Sir Robert Spottiswood delivered to him the commission, appointing him his Majesty's lieutenant-governor for Scotland, and general of all his Majesty's forces, "in a respectful manner under the royal standard." Montrose, on receiving this and the other commission, delivered them to Archibald Primrose, who had acted as clerk to the Committee of Estates, and had lately joined Montrose, to be proclaimed to the army. After these commissions had been read, Montrose addressed his army in a short and feeling speech, in the course of which he took occasion to praise their bravery and loyalty, and expressed great affection for them. In con-

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Balfour

clusion, addressing Macdonald, his major-general, he bestowed upon him the tribute of his praise, and by virtue of the power with which he had been invested, conferred the honour of knighthood upon Macdonald, in presence of the whole army. Little did Montrose imagine, that the man whose services he was now so justly rewarding had resolved immediately to abandon him, and, under the pretence of avenging some injuries which his friends had sustained at the hands of Argyle four years before, to quit for ever the service of his royal master.

Montrose's ranks had, before the review alluded to, been thinned by private desertions among the Highlanders, who carried off with them all the booty they had been able to collect; but as soon as Montrose announced his intention, in terms of the instructions he had received from the king, to march south, the Highlanders in a body demanded liberty to return home, for a short time, to repair their houses, which had been reduced to ruins by the enemy, and to provide a stock of provisions for their wives and families during the ensuing winter. To induce Montrose to comply the more readily with their request, they promised to return to his camp within forty days, and to bring some of their friends along with them. As Montrose saw that the Highlanders had formed a determined resolution to depart, and that consequently any attempt to retain them would be unavailing, he dissembled the displeasure he felt, and after thanking them in the king's name for their services, and entreating them to return to him as soon as possible, he granted them leave of absence with apparent good-will. But when Sir Alaster Macdonald also announced his intention to return to the Highlands, Montrose could not conceal his chagrin, and strongly remonstrated against such a step. "Montrose" (says

Guthry) " dealt most seriously with him to have stayed until they had been absolute conquerors, promising then to go thither himself, and be concurring with him in punishing them (Argyle and his party) as they deserved; and withal told him, that his separating at this time must be the occasion of ruin to them both. But all was to no purpose; he would needs be gone, and for a reason enlarged himself in reckoning up the Marquis of Argyle's cruelties against his friends, who, as he said, did four years ago draw his father and brother to Inverary upon trust, and then made them prisoners; and since (his friends having retired to the Isles of Jura and Rachlin, for shelter) sent Ardkinlass and the captain of Skipness, to the said isles to murder them, which (said he) they did without mercy, sparing neither women nor children. With such disclosures he justified his departure, and would not be hindered." Macdonald, accordingly, after returning thanks to Montrose in a formal oration for the favours he had received, and pledging himself for the early return of the Highlanders, departed for the Highlands on the day of the review, accompanied by upwards of three thousand Highlanders, the *élite* of Montrose's army, and by 120 of the best of the Irish troops, whom he had selected as a body-guard.

The desertion of such a large body of men, consisting of the flower of his army, was a subject of the deepest concern to Montrose, whose sole reliance for support against the powerful force of Leslie, now depended upon the precarious succours he might obtain on his march to the south. Under such circumstances, a commander more prudent than Montrose would have hesitated about the course to be pursued in such an unlooked for emergency, and would probably have either remained for some time in his position, till the levies raising in the south should assemble, or retreated across the Forth,

and there awaited for reinforcements from the north; but the ardent and chivalrous feelings of Montrose so blinded him, as to make him altogether disregard prudential considerations, and the splendour of his victories had dazzled his imagination so much, as to induce him to believe that he had only to engage the enemy to defeat them.

Accordingly, on the day following the departure of the Highlanders, viz., the fourth of September, Montrose began his march to the south; but he had not proceeded far, when he had the mortification to find himself also abandoned by the Earl of Aboyne, who not only carried off the whole of his own men, but induced the other horsemen of the north, who were not of his party, to accompany him. Of the Gordons, Sir Nathaniel Gordon appears to have been the only individual of that name who remained behind. The cause of such a hasty proceeding on the part of the Earl of Aboyne does not sufficiently appear; but it seems probable, that his lordship had taken some offence at Montrose, who, according to a partisan of the Gordon family, arrogated to himself all the honour of the victories which the earl had greatly contributed to obtain.

The army of Montrose was now reduced to a mere handful of men, consisting only of about two hundred gentlemen who had joined him at Bothwell, and seven hundred foot, chiefly Irish. Yet he resolved to proceed on his march, and reached Cranstoun-Kirk in Mid-Lothian, on Saturday, the sixth of September, where he received intelligence that General David Leslie had arrived at Berwick with a great body of cavalry. He encamped at Cranstoun-Kirk with the intention of remaining there over the Sunday, and hearing Doctor Wishart preach; but having, the following morning, been put in possession of a correspondence between

Leslie and the heads of the Covenanters, at Berwick, which developed their plans, without waiting for sermon, he quickly raised his camp and advanced into Strathgala. A more imprudent step than this cannot be well conceived, as Montrose threw his little band into the jaws of Leslie, who was laying ready to pounce upon him. In his march along Gala-water, he was joined by the Marquis of Douglas and Lord Ogilvy at the head of a small party, the remains of a larger body which had been diminished by desertion. Montrose was waited upon at Galashiels by the Earl of Traquair, who professed the most fervent attachment to the king, and promised to obtain information for him respecting Leslie's movements, and, in proof of his sincerity, sent his son Lord Linton with a troop of well-mounted horse, who joined him the following day.

From Galashiels Montrose marched to Kelso, where he expected to be joined by the Earls of Home and Roxburghe, and their vassals; but on his arrival there, he was surprised to find that these two noblemen had taken no measures to raise the levies they had promised. He, therefore, resolved to pay them a visit, to compel them to fulfil their engagements; but anticipating such a step, they had allowed themselves to be made voluntary prisoners by a party of Leslie's horse and carried to Berwick. Roxburghe, whom Wishart calls "a cunning old fox," was the contriver of this artful scheme, which, while it secured him and his colleague Home the favour of the Covenanters, was intended to induce the king to believe that they were suffering for their loyalty.

This act of perfidy opened the eyes of Montrose to the danger of his situation, and made him instantly resolve to retrace his steps, so as to prevent his retreat to the north being cut off by David Leslie, who had by this time crossed the Tweed. He, therefore, marched from

Kelso westward to Jedburgh, and from thence to Selkirk, where he arrived on the twelfth of September, and encamped that night in a wood, called Hareheadwood, in the neighbourhood of the town at the head of a long and level piece of ground called Philiphaugh, on the north bank of the Ettrick. Montrose himself, with his horse, took up his quarters in the town.

The position thus selected by Montrose was well-calculated to prevent his being taken by surprise, as Leslie, from the direction he had necessarily to advance, could only approach it by coming up the open vale of Philiphaugh; but unfortunately, Montrose did not, on this occasion, take those extraordinary precautions which he had been accustomed to do. It had always been his practice hitherto, to superintend in person the setting of the night watches, and to give instructions himself to the sentinels, and to the scouts he sent out, to watch the motions of the enemy; but having important letters to write to the king, which he was desirous of sending off before the break of day by a trusty messenger, he entrusted these details to his cavalry officers, whom he exhorted to great vigilance, and to take care that the scouts kept a sharp outlook for the enemy. Montrose had the utmost confidence in the wisdom and integrity of his officers, whose long experience in military affairs he had many times witnessed; and as there seemed to be no immediate danger, he thought that, for one night at least, he could safely leave the direction of affairs to such men.

While occupied during the night preparing his despatches for the king, Montrose received several loose reports, from time to time, respecting the alleged movements of the enemy, of which he sent due notice to his officers, but he was as often assured, both by the reports of his officers and of the scouts, that not a vestige of an

enemy was to be seen. Thus the night passed without any apparent foundation for the supposition that the enemy was at hand, and to make assurance doubly sure, some of the fleetest of the cavalry were sent out at break of day to reconnoitre. On their return, they stated that they had examined with care all the roads and passes for ten miles round, and solemnly averred, that there was not the least appearance of an enemy within the range they had just scoured. Yet singular as the fact may appear, Leslie was lying at that very time at Melrose, with four thousand horse, within six miles of Montrose's camp.

It appears that on the day of Montrose's march from Jedburgh, General Leslie, who had a few days before crossed the Tweed at Berwick, held a council of war at Gladsmuir in East Lothian, at which it was determined that he should proceed toward Stirling to cut off Montrose's retreat to the Highlands, whither it was supposed that he meant instantly to retire, for the purpose of obtaining reinforcements. But the council had scarcely risen, when letters were brought to Leslie, communicating to him the low and impaired state of Montrose's forces, and his design of marching into Dumfriesshire to procure an accession of strength. On receiving this intelligence, Leslie abandoned his plan of marching northward, and ordering his army to turn to the left, he immediately marched to the south, and entering the vale of Gala, proceeded to Melrose, where he took up his quarters for the night, intending to attack Montrose's little band next morning, in the hope of annihilating it altogether. Who the traitor was, who made the communication in question to the covenanting general, is a point which has never been ascertained. Both Wishart and Guthry suspect that the Earl of Traquair was the guilty person, and they rest their conjecture

upon the circumstance of his having withdrawn during the night (without acquainting Montrose) the troop of horse under his son, Lord Linton, but this is not sufficient, of itself, to infer such a criminal act.

But the most extraordinary and unaccountable circumstance which preceded the battle of Philiphaugh was this, that although Leslie was within six miles of Montrose's camp, neither the scouts nor the cavalry, who are stated to have scoured the country four miles beyond the place where Leslie lay, could discover, as they reported, any traces of him. Did the scouts deceive Montrose, or did they not proceed in the direction of Leslie's camp, or did they confine their perambulations within a more limited range? These are questions which it is impossible to answer with any degree of certainty. But what is to be said of the cavalry who, having made their observations at daybreak, and confessedly several miles beyond their enemy's camp, returned as luckless as the midnight scouts? The only plausible answer that can be given to this question is, either that they had not visited the neighbourhood of Melrose, or that a thick mist, which prevailed on the morning of the thirteenth of September, had obscured the enemy from their view. However, be this as it may, certain it is that owing to the thickness of the fog, Leslie was enabled to advance, unobserved, till he came within half a mile of Montrose's headquarters. On the alarm occasioned by this sudden and unexpected appearance of the enemy, Montrose instantly sprung upon the first horse that he met, and galloped off to his camp. On his arrival, he fortunately found that all his men, though the hour was very early, had risen, but considerable disorder prevailed in the camp in consequence of preparations they were making for an immediate march into Dumfriesshire in terms of instructions they had

received the previous evening. The cavalry, however, were quite dismounted, some of the officers were absent, and their horses were scattered through the adjoining fields taking their morning repast. Short as the time was for putting his small band in a defensive position, Montrose acted with his accustomed presence of mind, and before the enemy commenced his attack, Montrose had succeeded in drawing up his men in order of battle, in the position which they had occupied the preceding night. Nothing but self-preservation, on which the cause of the king, his master, was chiefly dependent, could have justified Montrose in attempting to resist the powerful force now about to assail him. With about a thousand foot and five hundred horse, the greater part of which was composed of raw and undisciplined levies hastily brought into the field, and lukewarm in the cause, he had to resist the attack of a body of about six thousand veteran troops, chiefly English cavalry, who had distinguished themselves at the battle of Marston-moor, who, though they could make no addition to their laurels by defeating such a handful of men, may be supposed to have been especially desirous of annihilating the remains of an army which had been so long formidable and victorious.

The covenanting general began the battle by charging Montrose's right wing, consisting of horse, with the great body of his cavalry; but so firmly was the charge received by the brave Cavaliers with Montrose at their head, that the assailants were forced to retire with loss. A second charge met a similar fate. Thus foiled in their attempts on the right, they next attacked Montrose's left wing, consisting of foot, which, after a gallant resistance, retired a little up the face of the hill, where it was posted, to avoid the attacks of the cavalry. While this struggle was going on on the left, a body of two

thousand of the covenanting foot, which had made a circuitous route, appeared in the rear of the right wing, which they attacked. The right wing, not being able to resist this force, and apprehensive that a new attack would be made upon them by the enemy's cavalry, and that they would thus be surrounded and perhaps cut to pieces, fled from the field. The foot who had taken up a position on the side of the hill, being thus abandoned to their fate, surrendered themselves as prisoners of war after a slight resistance; but horrible to tell, they were afterward shot by orders of the covenanting general, at the instigation, it is said, of some Presbyterian ministers, who declared that no faith should be kept with such persons.

Montrose was still on the field with about thirty brave Cavaliers, and witnessed the rout of one part of his army and the surrender of another, with the most poignant feelings of regret. He might have instantly retreated with safety, but he could not brook the idea of running away, and, therefore, resolved not to abandon the post of honour, but to fight to the last extremity, and to sell his life as dearly as possible. It was not long before he and his noble band were nearly surrounded by the enemy, who kept pressing so hard upon him, and in such numbers, as almost to preclude the possibility of escape. Yet they did not venture to attack Montrose and his brave associates in a body, but in detached parties, every one of which was successively repulsed with loss. As the enemy grew tired of attacking him, and seemed to be more intent upon plundering his baggage than capturing his person, Montrose saw that the danger was not so great as he supposed, and, therefore, he began to reflect upon the folly of sacrificing his life so long as a ray of hope remained. He had lost a battle no doubt; but in this there was no dishonour when the

disparity of his force with that of the enemy was considered. Besides he had lost few of his men, and the Highlanders, on whom he chiefly relied, were still entire, and were ready to take the field as soon as he appeared again among them. And as to the effect which such a defeat might be supposed to have upon the adherents of the king, who were still numerous and powerful, it could be easily removed as soon as they saw him again at the head of a fresh force. That he could only expect to retrieve the present state of affairs by escaping from the present danger and raising new troops; but that if he rashly sacrificed his life the king's affairs might be irretrievably ruined. These reflections being seconded by the Marquis of Douglas and a few trusty friends, who implored him not to throw away a life so valuable to the king and to the country, Montrose resolved to consult his safety by an immediate flight. Putting himself, therefore, at the head of his troop, he cut his way through the enemy, without the loss of a single man. They were pursued by a party of horse, some of whom they killed, and actually carried off one Bruce, a captain of horse, and two standard-bearers, with their ensigns, as prisoners. Montrose went in the direction of Peebles, which he entered about sunset, and here he was joined by different straggling parties of his men who had escaped.

Montrose lost in this engagement very few of his horse, but a considerable part of his foot was destroyed. He carried off, as we have seen, two of the enemy's standards, and fortunately preserved his own, two in number, from the enemy. That belonging to his infantry was saved by an Irish soldier of great bravery, who, on seeing the battle lost, and the enemy in possession of the field, tore it from the pole and wrapping it round his body, which was without any other covering, nobly cut his way through the enemy sword in hand. He overtook

Montrose at Peebles, and delivered the standard into his hands the same night. Montrose rewarded his bravery by appointing him one of his life-guard, and by committing the standard to his future charge.

It was to the Honourable William Hay, brother to the Earl of Kinnoul, a youth of a martial and enterprising spirit, that Montrose was indebted for the preservation of his second ensign, belonging to the horse. Mr. Hay had been appointed to the honourable post of standard-bearer, after the battle of Alford, instead of Mr. Douglas, son of the Earl of Morton, who had been seriously wounded in that engagement. This noble youth fled to the south, carrying the royal ensign along with him, and, after concealing himself for some time about the English borders, he, in company with Robert Touris of Inverleith, who had served as a captain in the French service, went in disguise to the north, where he joined Montrose, and delivered the royal standard into his hands.

Montrose passed the night at Peebles, where he was joined by most of his horse and part of his infantry; but some of his officers, who had mistaken their way, or fled in a different direction, were seized by the country people, and delivered over to Leslie. Among these were the Earl of Hartfell, the Lords Drummond and Ogilvie, Sir Robert Spottiswood, Sir Alexander Leslie of Auchintoul, Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, the Honourable William Murray, brother to the Earl of Tulliebardine, Alexander Ogilvie of Inverquharity, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, and Mr. Andrew Guthry, son of the bishop of Moray. Montrose did not tarry long in Peebles, from which he departed early the following morning, and crossing the Clyde at a ford shown him by Sir John Dalziel, where he was, to his great joy, joined by the Earls of Crawford and Airly, and other noblemen

who had effected their escape by a different route, he proceeded rapidly to the north, and entered Athole, after despatching the Marquis of Douglas and the Earl of Airly into Angus, and Lord Erskine into Mar, to raise forces. Montrose then sent letters to Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Earl of Aboyne, requesting them to join him without delay, and to bring with them all the forces they could muster, to enable him to enter on a new campaign.

As soon as the members of the Committee of Estates, who had taken refuge in Berwick, heard of Montrose's defeat at Philiphaugh, they joined Leslie's army, which they accompanied to Edinburgh, and there concocted those measures of revenge against the unhappy Royalists who had fallen into their hands, which they afterward carried into execution. The first who suffered were Colonel O'Kean, to whose distinguished bravery at the battle of Fyvie we have already alluded, and Major Laughlane, another brave officer. Both these were hanged, without trial, upon the Castle hill of Edinburgh. Perhaps the circumstance of being Irishmen appeared a sufficient reason in the eyes of their murderers for despatching them so summarily, but they were, nevertheless, the subjects of the king, and as fully entitled to all the privileges of war as the other prisoners. This hatred of the Irish by the Covenanters was not confined to the cases of these individuals. Having in their march westward to Glasgow fallen in, near Linlithgow, with a body of helpless Irish women and children, who, in consequence of the loss of their husbands and fathers at the battle of Philiphaugh, were now seeking their way home to their own country, they were all seized by orders of the heads of the Covenanters, and thrown headlong by the brutal soldiers over the bridge of Avon into the river below. Some of these unfortunate

beings, who had sufficient strength left to reach the banks of the river, were not allowed to save themselves from drowning, but after being beaten on the head and stunned by blows from the butt ends of muskets and by clubs, were pushed back into the stream, where they all perished.

The covenanting army continued its march to Glasgow, where a Convention of the Estates was held to determine upon further measures. To testify their gratitude to Leslie, they granted him a present of 50,000 merks and a gold chain, and they also voted the sum of 25,000 merks to Middleton, the second in command, for his services.

CHAPTER II

MONTROSE DISBANDS ARMY

Montrose appeared among his Athole friends at a time the most unfavourable for obtaining their aid. Many of them were engaged in the occupation of the harvest, securing, for the support of themselves and their families, the scanty and precarious crops which were then upon the ground, and which, if neglected to be cut down in due time, might be destroyed by unfavourable weather. It was, besides, little more than a month since they had left him at Bothwell muir for the purpose partly of repairing the depredations which had been committed by Argyle's men upon their houses, and the interval which had since elapsed had not been sufficient for accomplishing their object. Yet, notwithstanding of these drawbacks, Montrose succeeded in inducing about four hundred of the men of Athole to join him immediately, and to follow him to the north in quest of additional reinforcements; and he obtained a promise that, on his return, the whole of the Athole Highlanders would join him in a body.

While in Athole, Montrose received promises both from Lord Aboyne and Sir Alexander Macdonald, that they would speedily join him with considerable reinforcements; but, growing impatient at Aboyne's delay, he resolved to proceed north himself to ascertain in person the cause of it, and to urge that nobleman to fulfil his promise. Crossing, therefore, the Grampians, he marched with great haste through Aberdeenshire,

and had an interview with Lord Aboyne, whom he expected to rouse from his apathy. Montrose, however, soon perceived, that whatever Aboyne's own intentions were, he was thwarted by his father, the Marquis of Huntly, who, on hearing of Montrose's success at Kilsyth, had left his retreat in Strathnaver, where he had passed a year and a half in absolute supineness, and returned to his own country. The marquis envied and hated Montrose, and although a Royalist in his heart, he did not care to expose the crown and monarchy to danger to gratify his spleen and vanity, as he could not endure to see a man whom he looked upon as his inferior in rank, monopolize the whole power and authority in Scotland.

"He was," says Bishop Wishart, "a man equally unfortunate and inconsiderate; and, however much he would seem, or was really attached to the king, yet he often betrayed that interest through a pride and unaccountable envy he had conceived against Montrose, whose glory and renown he endeavoured rather to extenuate than make the object of his emulation. He durst not venture to depreciate Montrose's actions before his own people, who had been eye-witnesses of them, and were well acquainted with his abilities, lest it might be construed into a sign of disaffection to the king himself. However, he gave out that he would take the charge of commanding them himself during the remainder of the war; and in that view he headed all his own vassals, and advised his neighbours, not without threats if they acted otherwise, to enlist under no other authority than his own. They remonstrated how they could be answerable to disobey Montrose's command, who was appointed by the king his deputy-governor and captain-general of all the forces within the kingdom. Huntly replied, that he himself should in

no way be wanting in his duty to the king; but, in the meantime, it tended no less to their honour than his own that it should appear to the king and the whole kingdom how much they contributed to the maintenance of the war; and this, he said, could never be done, unless they composed a separate army by themselves. He spoke in very magnificent terms of his own power, and endeavoured as much as possible to extenuate that of Montrose. He extolled immoderately the glory and achievements of his ancestors, the Gordons, — a race, worthy indeed of all due commendation, whose power had for many ages been formidable, and an overmatch for their neighbours; and was so even at this day. It was therefore, he said, extremely unjust to ascribe unto another, meaning Montrose, the glory and renown acquired by their courage, and at the expense of their blood. But, for the future, he would take care, that neither the king should be disappointed of the help of the Gordons, nor should they be robbed of the praise due to their merit."

By this insidious reasoning, Huntly succeeded in blinding the greater part of his clan as to his real intentions; but there were some honourable men among them who saw through the disguise of the marquis, and who justly appreciated the talents of Montrose. They perceived the great danger to which the king's affairs would be exposed by such selfish conduct, and they did everything in their power to induce him to alter his resolution. It was, however, in vain that they represented to him the danger and impropriety of dividing the friends of the king at such a crisis, when union and harmony were so essentially necessary for accomplishing the objects they had in view, and when, by allowing petty jealousies to interfere and distract their councils, they might ruin the royal cause in Scot-

land. Huntly lent a deaf ear to all their entreaties, and instead of adopting the advice of his friends to support Montrose, by ordering his vassals to join him, he opposed him almost in everything he proposed by underhand means, although affecting a seeming compliance with his wishes. Seeing all their efforts fruitless, those friends who had advised Huntly to join Montrose declared that they would range themselves under Montrose's banner as the king's lieutenant regardless of consequences, and they kept their word.

The author of the history of the family of Gordon endeavours to defend Huntly from the charges of Wishart, and having given one side of the question, it is but justice also to state what that author has to say in defence of his chief. "Here that author (Wishart) gives Huntly a very bad character. Envy is an action or rather passion of the mind. He pretends to have known the very secret thoughts of his mind; he speaks very doubtfully of his loyalty, and that his mind began to be alienated from the king. He would need to have been well-acquainted with him, when he knew the secrets of his mind, none of them appearing by any overt act. Huntly was immovable and constant in his loyalty even to and in his death, as the same author acknowledges in another place, which I will have occasion to notice hereafter. Then he makes Huntly to have had very senseless speeches to his friends, full of boasting of the glory and great actions of his ancestors, his own great power; and that it was unjust that the honour gotten at the expense of their blood should be put to another man's score; and a great deal more of such idle stuff, needless to be repeated. Now, this author was not an ear-witness to those speeches, nor does he name any person who told him of them; and, therefore, in all justice, they must be esteemed as

his own, and for these reasons, in no construction can be put upon Huntly; and so I do not think myself obliged to take any further notice of them. Only, I must be allowed to think it not a little strange, that such a pious and loyal author should give so bad a character of Huntly here, who in another place hereafter is pleased to give him so great a one."

Among other reasons, which induced Montrose to take the speedy step he did of marching north himself, was a report which had reached him that the king was to send from England a large body of horse to support him, and he was most anxious to collect such forces as he could to enable him to be in a condition to advance to the south, and unite with this body. In fact, the king had given orders to Lord Digby and Sir Marmaduke Langdale to proceed to Scotland with a body of fifteen hundred horse; but they were, unfortunately, completely defeated, even before Montrose's departure to the north, by Colonel Copley at Sherburn, with the loss of all their baggage. Digby and Langdale, accompanied by the Earls of Carnwath and Nithsdale, fled to Skipton, and afterward to Dumfries, whence they took shipping to the Isle of Man.

Notwithstanding the evasions of the Marquis of Huntly, Montrose succeeded in inducing the Earl of Aboyne to join him at Drumminor, the seat of Lord Forbes, with a force of fifteen hundred foot and three hundred horse, all of whom appeared to be actuated by the best spirit. To remove every unfavourable impression from the mind of Montrose, Aboyne assured him with great frankness, that he and his men were ready to follow him wherever he should be pleased to lead them, that they would obey his orders; and that his brother, Lord Lewis, would also speedily join him, as he soon did, with an additional force.

On receiving this reinforcement, Montrose turned his face to the south, and marched towards Mar, where he was to be joined by forces which Lord Erskine had raised there; but he had not proceeded far, when Lord Lewis Gordon, under some pretence or other, returned home with a considerable party of horse, promising to return to the army the following day. The desertion of Lord Lewis had a most pernicious influence upon the remainder of Aboyne's men, who, before the army had reached Alford, were greatly diminished by desertion. As the remainder showed great unwillingness to march forward, and as the desertions continued, Aboyne requested leave of absence, alleging as his reason, that his father had expressly commanded him to return to defend his possessions against a party of the enemy who were in lower Mar, and who were threatening an attack. The demand of Aboyne excited the astonishment of Montrose, who remonstrated with him, and gave many reasons to induce him to remain. He showed that Aboyne's apprehensions of danger were groundless, as, with the exception of a few troops the enemy's horse quartered in Aberdeen, there were no other forces in the north which could disturb his father's possessions, and that these horse were too weak to attempt anything; that by marching south the seat of war would be transferred from the north country, and that, in this way, the Marquis of Huntly would be relieved altogether of the presence of the enemy; that it would be impossible to join the Royalist forces, which were on their way from England, without crossing the Forth, and that it was only by adopting the latter step that they could ever expect to rescue their brave friends from the fangs of the Covenanters, and save their lives.

Aboyne did not attempt to answer these reasons,

which were urged with Montrose's peculiar energy, but he requested him to send some persons who had influence with his father to acquaint him with them. Donald, Lord Rae, at whose house Huntly had lived during his exile in Strathnaver, and Alexander Irvine, younger of Drum, Huntly's son-in-law, both of whom had been indebted to Montrose for their liberty, were accordingly sent by him to the Marquis of Huntly, as the most likely persons he could select to induce Huntly to allow Aboyne to remain with the army. But all their arguments and entreaties were to no purpose. Lord Rae was so heartily ashamed at the failure of his mission, that he declined to return to Montrose; and Irvine, who brought some evasive letters from Huntly, frankly declared to Montrose that he could obtain no satisfactory explanation from his father-in-law of his real intentions, farther than that he remained fixed in his resolution that Aboyne should return home immediately. After declaring that he parted from Montrose with reluctance, and promising to join him within a fortnight with a force even larger than that which he had lately brought, Aboyne left the army and returned to his father.

Montrose then continued his march through Braemar and Glenshee into Athole, where he obtained an accession of force. He next proceeded to Strathearn, where he was met by two messengers, who arrived by different routes, with orders from the king, desiring Montrose to join Lord George Digby, near the English border, as soon as possible. These messengers were Captain Thomas Ogilvy, younger of Pourie, and Captain Robert Nisbet. On receiving these commands, Montrose immediately sent these messengers north to the Marquis of Huntly, to acquaint him with the king's wishes, in the expectation that the use of his Majesty's name

would at once induce him to send Aboyne south with reinforcements.

While Montrose lay in Strathearn waiting for reinforcements, intelligence was brought to him that the Covenanters were about to imbrue their hands in the blood of his friends who had been taken prisoners after the battle of Philiphaugh. The Committee of Estates, which had accompanied the Covenanting army to Glasgow, had now determined upon this bold and illegal step, for which hitherto, with the recent exceptions of O'Kean and Laughlane, no example had been set by either of the belligerent parties in Scotland since the commencement of the war. They had wisely abstained from staining the scaffolds with blood, but from different motives. Montrose, acting agreeably to the understood wishes of the king, which were congenial with his own disposition, not to hurry matters to extremities with his Scottish subjects, refrained from inflicting capital punishment, and, as we have seen, often released his prisoners on parole. The heads of the Covenanters had been deterred by fear alone from carrying their bloody purposes into execution; but considering that they had now nothing to fear, they soon appeared in their true colours. That the measures of Charles were unconstitutional and oppressive cannot be denied, and that he endeavoured to circumvent the parties opposed to him by duplicity and cunning is a point equally certain; but there can be no question that, being king *de facto*, as well as *de jure*, he had a right, so long as he held the reins of government, to exercise all the power of the executive in the protection of his person and throne. With the Covenanters, however, the case was widely different. They, indeed, struggled for the existence of their religious liberties, but they had no right to assume judicial powers, by consigning

to the block those who, from a principle of duty, had taken up arms in defence of their sovereign. But a period of civil war is not the time for attending to such distinctions.

Besides the Committee of the Estates, a Committee of the Kirk held sittings in Glasgow at the same time, which sittings were afterward transferred to Perth, where, after deposing some ministers who were considered disaffected to the Covenant, because they had not "mourned" for Montrose's victory at Kilsyth, they "concerned" themselves, as Guthry observes, about "the disposition of men's heads." Accordingly, thinking the Committee of Estates remiss in condemning and executing the prisoners, they appointed Mr. William Bennet, who acted as moderator in the absence of Mr. Robert Douglas, and two others of their number, to wait upon the Committee of Estates, and remonstrate with them for their supineness. Guthry relates that the deputation reported on their return, in his own hearing, that some of the lords of the committee slighted the desire of the Committee of the Kirk, and that they were likely to have obtained nothing had not the Earl of Tulliebardine made a seasonable speech to this effect, "that because he had a brother among those men, it might be that their lordships so valued his concurrence with them in the good cause, that for respect of him they were the more loth to resolve upon the question. But that, as for himself, since that young man had joined with that wicked crew, he did not esteem him his brother, and therefore declared that he would take it for no favour if upon that account any indulgence was granted him." [1] This fratricidal speech made those members of the committee, who had disliked the shedding of blood, hang down their heads, according to Bennet's report, and the committee, thereupon,

resolved that ten of the prisoners should be executed, viz., the Earl of Hartfell, the Lord Ogilvie, Sir Robert Spottiswood, the Honourable William Murray, brother to the Earl of Tulliebardine, Alexander Ogilvie of Inverquharity, Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Adjutant Stewart, and Captain Andrew Guthry.

Apprehensive, however, that Montrose might still be in a condition to avenge the blood of his friends, the committee did not venture to carry their sentence into immediate execution upon any of them; but hearing of the division between Montrose and Huntly, and the desertion of the Gordons, they thought they might now safely venture to immolate a few victims at the shrine of the Covenant. Accordingly, three of the prisoners were ordered for execution, viz., Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, chief of that name, and Alexander Ogilvie, younger of Inverquharity, a youth not quite eighteen years of age, who had already given proofs of genius. This excellent young man was sacrificed to gratify the malignant animosity of Argyle at the Ogilvies. Sir William was executed at the market cross of Glasgow, upon the twenty-eighth day of October, and Sir Philip and Ogilvie suffered at the same place on the following day. Wishart relates a circumstance connected with Sir William Rollock's condemnation, which exhibits a singular instance of the ferocity and fanaticism of the times. He says that the chief crime laid to Sir William's charge was, that he had not perpetrated a deed of the most villainous and atrocious nature; for having been sent by Montrose, after the battle of Aberdeen, with some despatches to the king, he was apprehended by the enemy, and would undoubtedly have been immediately executed, but for Argyle, who used all his endeavours to engage

him to assassinate Montrose, and who at length, by threatening him with immediate death, and promising him, in case of compliance, very high rewards, prevailed on him to undertake that barbarous office, for which, however, he secretly entertained the utmost abhorrence; and having thereby obtained his life and liberty, he returned straight to Montrose and disclosed the whole matter to him, entreating him at the same time to look more carefully to his own safety; as it could not be supposed that he, Sir William, was the only person who had been practised upon in this shameful manner, or that others would equally detest the deed, but that some persons would undoubtedly be found who, allured with the bait, would use their utmost industry and pains to obtain the promised reward. Another instance of fanaticism is related by Guthry, of David Dickson, the "bloody preacher," who, on witnessing the execution of Nisbet and Ogilvie, was heard to utter this barbarous expression, — "The work goes bonnyly on," an expression which, afterward, became proverbial.

About the time this tragedy was performing, Montrose crossed the Forth and entered the Lennox with a force of three hundred horse and twelve hundred foot, and took up his quarters on the lands of Sir John Buchanan, an ardent Covenanter, whence he sent out his cavalry every day, who hovered about Glasgow, and plundered the neighbouring country without opposition, although the Covenanters had a force of about three thousand cavalry in Glasgow and the neighbourhood. When Montrose heard of the execution of his friends his heart was filled with the most poignant grief, and he longed for a suitable opportunity to avenge their deaths, but he was too weak to venture upon an immediate attack. He sent repeated messages from his present headquarters

to Sir Alexander Macdonald to join him; but after hovering several weeks about Glasgow, like a hawk ready to pounce upon its quarry, he had the mortification to find, that Macdonald had no intention of ever again returning to him, and that his expectations of being joined by the Earl of Aboyne were to be equally disappointed.

Under these untoward circumstances, therefore, and as the winter, which turned out unusually severe, was far advanced, Montrose resolved to retire into the north where he could remain undisturbed. With this view he began his march from the Lennox on the nineteenth of November, and crossing the hills of Monteith, which were covered with snow to a considerable depth, he entered Strathearn, and crossing the Tay, marched into Athole. Here Montrose received the melancholy news of the death of his brother-in-law, Archibald Lord Napier of Merchiston, whom he had left behind him in Athole on account of indisposition, a man, says Bishop Wishart, "not less noble in his personal accomplishments than in his birth and descent; a man of the greatest uprightness and integrity, and of a most happy genius, being, as to his skill in the sciences, equal to his father and grandfather, who were famous all the world over for their knowledge in philosophy and mathematics, and in the doctrine of civil prudence far beyond them." Montrose had been accustomed from his earliest years to look up to this gifted nobleman with feelings of reverential and filial awe, nor were these feelings impaired as he advanced in life. He was interred in the Kirk of Blair with becoming solemnity by Montrose.

When Montrose arrived in Athole, he there found Captain Ogilvie and Captain Nisbet, who had just returned from the north to give an account of their embassy to the Marquis of Huntly. They reported that

they found him quite inflexible in his determination not to send assistance to Montrose, that he had spoken disdainfully to them, and even questioned the authenticity of the message which they brought from the king. It was truly grievous for Montrose to see the cause for which he had fought so long, and for which he had encountered so many personal risks, thus endangered by the wilful and fatal obstinacy of an individual who had abandoned his country and his friends in the most trying circumstances, and cowardly skulked in Strathnaver, without showing any inclination to support the tottering diadem of his sovereign. But Montrose did not yet despair of bringing the marquis to a due sense of his duty, and as he considered that it was more expedient, in the present conjuncture, to endeavour to soothe the wounded pride of the marquis than to use the language of menace, he sent Sir John Dalziel to Huntly with a message of peace and reconciliation; intending, if necessary, as soon as circumstances permitted, to follow him, and enforce by his personal presence, at a friendly conference, which Sir John was requested to ask from the marquis, the absolute necessity of such a reconciliation.

As Dalziel was quite unsuccessful in his mission, and could not prevail upon Huntly to agree to a conference with Montrose, the latter hastened to put into effect his intention of paying a personal visit to Huntly, " that nothing might be unattempted to bring him to a right way of thinking," and " by heaping favours and benefits upon him, force him even against his will, to a reconciliation, and to co-operate with him in promoting the king's affairs." Montrose accordingly left Athole with his army in the month of December, and marching into Angus, crossed the Grampians, then covered with frost and snow, and arrived by rapid

marches in Strathbogy before Huntly was aware of his movements. To avoid Montrose Huntly immediately shut himself up in his castle of Bog of Gicht, on the Spey, but Montrose, having left his headquarters with a troop of horse, unexpectedly surprised him very early in the morning before he had time to secrete himself. Instead of reproaching Huntly with his past conduct, Montrose spoke to him in the most affable manner, and apparently succeeded in removing his dissatisfaction so far, that a plan for conducting the future operations of the army was agreed upon between them. The reduction of the garrison of Inverness, which, though strong and well-fortified, was but scantily stored with provisions, and an attempt to induce the Earl of Seaforth to join them, were the leading parts of this plan. Accordingly, while Montrose was to march through Strathspey, on his way to Inverness, it was agreed that Huntly should also advance upon it by a different road along the seacoast of Murrayshire, and thereby hem in the garrison on both sides.

In prosecution of this design, Montrose proceeded through Strathspey, and sat down before Inverness, waiting for the arrival of Huntly. When marching through Strathspey, Montrose received intelligence that Athole was threatened with a visit from the Campbells, — a circumstance which induced him to despatch Graham of Inchbrakie and John Drummond, younger of Balloch, to that country, for the purpose of embodying the Athole Highlanders, who had remained at home, in defence of their country. The inhabitants of Argyle, on hearing of Sir Alexander Macdonald's arrival in their country, after the battle of Kilsyth, had fled to avoid his vengeance, and concealed themselves in caverns or in the clefts of the rocks; but being compelled by the calls of hunger to abandon their retreats, they had been

collected together by Campbell of Ardkinlass to the number of about twelve hundred, and had attacked the Macgregors and Macnabs for favouring Montrose. Being joined by the Stuarts of Balquidder, the Menzieses, and other partisans of Argyle, to the number of about three hundred, they meditated an invasion of Athole, and had advanced as far as Strathample, with the intention of carrying their design into execution, when intelligence was brought to Inchbrakie of their approach. Inchbrakie and Balloch had by this time collected a body of seven hundred able-bodied men, and, with this force, they immediately proceeded to meet the Campbells. These had laid siege to Castle Ample; but, on being apprised of the advance of the Athole men, they retired to Monteith, whither they were hotly pursued by the Athole men, who overtook them at Callender, near the village of Monteith. After crossing the river Teith, they halted and prepared for battle, having previously stationed a large party of musketeers to guard the ford of the river.

Having ascertained the strength and position of the Campbells, Inchbrakie ordered a hundred of his men to advance to the ford, as if with the intention of crossing it, in order to draw the attention of the Campbells to this single point, while, with the remainder of his men, he hastened to cross the river by another ford, higher up, and nearer the village. This movement was immediately perceived by the Argyle men, who, alarmed at such a bold step, and probably thinking that the Athole men were more numerous than they really were, abandoned their position, and fled with precipitation towards Stirling. As soon as the Athole party, stationed at the lower ford, saw the opposite bank deserted, they immediately crossed the river and attacked the rear of the retiring Campbells. They were

soon joined in the pursuit by the party which had crossed the higher ford; but, as the Athole men had performed a tedious march of ten miles that morning, they were unable to continue the pursuit far. About eighty of the Campbells were killed in the pursuit. They loitered about Stirling for some time in a very pitiful state, till visited by their chief, on his way to Ireland, who, not knowing how to dispose of them, led them into Renfrewshire, under the impression that as the inhabitants of that district were friendly to the Covenant, they would be well received; but the people of Renfrewshire, instead of showing sympathy for these unfortunate wanderers, threatened to take arms and cut them down, unless they departed immediately. The marquis, thereupon, sent them into the Lennox, and quartered them upon the lands of Lord Napier and other "malignants," as the Royalists were called.

The support of General Leslie's army being heavily felt by the people, complaints were made to the Committee of Estates for retaining such a large body of men in Scotland, without any necessity, and whose habits and mode of living were so different from those of the inhabitants of North Britain. The Committee sent Leslie back to England, retaining only a small brigade under General Middleton, to watch the motions of Montrose.

The Covenanters, emboldened by recent events, had summoned a Parliament, without any authority from the king, to meet at St. Andrews, and which accordingly assembled on the twenty-sixth of November, 1645; and, that the ministers might not be behind their laybrethren in zeal for the blood of the "malignants," the general assembly of the church also met at the same time and place. It is truly melancholy to find men, under the pretence of religion, demanding the

lives of their countrymen as a sacrifice which they considered would be well-pleasing to God; yet, whilst every well-disposed mind must condemn the fanaticism of the Covenanters, it must be remembered that the unconstitutional attempts of the king to force Protestant Episcopacy upon them, — a system which they detested, — the severe losses which they had sustained from the arms of Montrose, and the dread of being subjected to the yoke of prelacy and punished for their resistance, had aroused them to a state of frenzy, over which reason and religion could have little control.

As a preparative for the bloody scenes about to be enacted, Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, on the day the Parliament met, addressed the House in a long harangue, in which he entreated them to " unity amongst themselves, to lay all private respects and interests aside, and to do justice on delinquents and malignants; showing that their dallying formerly had provoked God's two great servants against them, — the sword and plague of pestilence, — which had ploughed up the land with deep furrows. He showed that the massacre of Kilsyth was never to be forgotten, and that God, who was the just judge of the world, would not but judge righteously, and keep in remembrance that sea of innocent blood which lay before His throne, crying for vengeance on these bloodthirsty rebels, the butchers of so many innocent souls. He showed, likewise, that the times required a more narrow and sharp looking into than formerly, in respect that the House of Parliament was become at this present like to Noah's ark, which had in it both foul and clean creatures, and therefore he besought the Estates there now convened by God's especial permission and appointment, before that they went about the constitution of that high court of Parliament, that they would make a serious search and inquiry after

such as were ears and eyes to the enemies of the commonwealth, and did sit there as if there was nothing to say to them; and, therefore, he humbly desired that the House might be adjourned till to-morrow at two o'clock in the afternoon, and that the several Estates might consider what corrupted members were amongst them, who had complied with the public enemy of the state either by themselves or by their agents or friends."

On the fourth of December, a petition was presented to the Parliament from the prisoners confined in the castle of St. Andrews, praying to be tried either by their peers, the justice-general, or before the whole Parliament, and not by a committee, as proposed; and they very properly objected to Sir Archibald Johnston, who had prejudged their case, from sitting as judge; but the House, "in one voice," most iniquitously rejected the petition, reserving, however, to the prisoners still to object to Sir Archibald before the committee, "if they had not any personal exception against his person."

As the ministers considered the Parliament tardy in their proceedings against the Royalists, the commissioners of the General Assembly presented, on fifth December, a remonstrance, praying them "for justice upon delinquents and malignants who had shed the blood of their brethren," and, on same day, four petitions and remonstrances to the same effect were presented to the Parliament, from the provincial assemblies and from the shires of Fife, Dumfries, Merse, Teviotdale, and Galloway, by a body of about two hundred persons. The Parliament, says Balfour, by their president, returned this answer, — that they had taken their "modest petitions and seasonable remonstrances very kindly, and rendered them hearty thanks, and wished them to be confident that, with all alacrity and dili-

gence, they would go about and proceed in answering the expectations of all their reasonable desires, as they might themselves perceive in their procedure hitherto; and, withal, he entreated them, in the name of the House, that they would be earnest with God to implore and beg His blessing to assist and encourage them to the performance of what they demanded."

Notwithstanding the entreaties of the ministers to proceed with the condemnation of the prisoners, the Parliament postponed proceedings till the seventeenth of January; but, as a peace offering, they ordered, in the meantime, some Irish prisoners, composed partly of those who had been taken at Philiphaugh, and who had escaped assassination, and partly of stragglers who had been picked up after that battle, and who were confined in all the different prisons of the kingdom, especially in those of Selkirk, Jedburgh, Glasgow, Dumbarton, and Perth, to be executed without trial, "conform to the treaty betwixt both kingdoms." A more illegal act it is scarcely possible to conceive, but in these times even the forms of justice were set aside.

The Committee of Estates, when sitting in Glasgow, had condemned the Earl of Hartfell and Lord Ogilvie to death, along with Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Alexander Ogilvie; but, for some reason or other, their execution was deferred. So that, with the exception of Adjutant Stuart, who escaped while under the charge of General Middleton, there remained only four persons of any note for condemnation, viz., Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Sir Robert Spottiswood, the Honourable Wm. Murray, and Captain Guthry. It appears from the Parliamentary register of Sir James Balfour, that these four prisoners pleaded exemption from trial, or rather from condemnation, on the ground of "quarters;" but after three hours' debate, on the

tenth of January, the Parliament overruled this defence; and the committee having, of course, found them all "guilty of high treason against the states of the kingdom," they fixed the sixteenth of that month for taking into consideration the punishment to be inflicted upon the prisoners.

The first case taken up on the appointed day was that of Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, who, after a debate of three hours' duration, was sentenced to be beheaded at the cross of St. Andrews, on Tuesday, the twentieth of January, at twelve o'clock, noon, and his lands and goods were declared forfeited to the public. The lord-chancellor declined voting. Similar sentences were pronounced upon the Honourable William Murray and Captain Guthry, by a plurality of votes, a few of the members having voted that they should be imprisoned during life. Mr. Murray's brother, the Earl of Tulliebardine, absented himself. These three fell under an act passed the preceding year, declaring that all persons who, after having subscribed the Covenant, should withdraw from it, should be held as guilty of high treason. But the case of Sir Robert Spottiswood, who had not subscribed the Covenant, not falling within the scope of this *ex post facto* law, the "committee" had stated in a special report the grounds on which they found Sir Robert guilty of high treason, namely: First, that he had advised, docketed, signed, carried, and delivered to Montrose the commission appointing him "lieutenant-governor and captain-general" of all his Majesty's forces in Scotland; and secondly, that he had been taken in arms against the country at Philiphaugh. After a lengthened debate, the Parliament decided that both these charges were capital offences, and according Sir Robert was condemned by a large majority to lose his head. The four prisoners were, on the following day,

brought up for judgment, and received sentence "on their knees severally."

It was the intention of the Parliament to have ordered the Earl of Hartfell and Lord Ogilvie to be executed along with the other prisoners; but on the evening of the nineteenth of January Lord Ogilvie effected his escape in the following way. Pretending sickness, he applied for, and obtained, though with considerable difficulty, liberty to his mother, lady, and sister, to to visit and attend him in prison. On entering his chamber, the sentinels retired out of respect to the ladies; and, as soon as the door was shut, his lordship jumped out of bed, and attired himself in his sister's clothes, who, on undressing, took the place of her brother in bed, and put on his night-cap. After spending some time together to prevent suspicion, the two other ladies and his lordship, after opening the door ajar so as to be seen by the guards, pretended to take a most affectionate and painful leave of the unfortunate bed-ridden prisoner, and, drawing the door after them, passed the sentinels without interruption. This happened about eight o'clock in the evening, and as horses had been prepared for his lordship and two companions who were waiting to escort him, he immediately mounted, and was out of all danger before next morning, when the cheat was discovered. The escape of Lord Ogilvie highly incensed Argyle, who hated the Ogilvies, and who, it is said, longed for the death of his lordship. He could not conceal the chagrin he felt on the occasion, and even had the audacity to propose that the three ladies should be immediately punished; but the Hamiltons and Lord Lindsay, who, on account of their relationship to Lord Ogilvie, were suspected of being privy to his escape, protected them from his vengeance. The escape of Lord Ogilvie was a fortunate occurrence for

the Earl of Hartfell, for whose life it is alleged the Hamiltons thirsted in their turn; and to disappoint whom Argyle insisted that the earl's life should be spared, a concession which he obtained.

Of the four prisoners, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, "a man" (says Wishart) "of excellent endowments both of body and mind," was the first that suffered. He had been long under the ban of the church for adultery; but on signing a paper, declaratory of his repentance, he was absolved from the sentence of excommunication. He died, expressing great sorrow for the vices and follies of his youth; but vindicated himself for the part he had taken in the troubles of his country, professed the most unshaken loyalty to his king; and declared that if there were anything in the instrument he had signed which might be construed as dishonourable to the king, or repugnant to his authority, he completely disowned it.

Colonel Gordon was followed to the scaffold by Sir Robert Spottiswood, a man of the most spotless integrity, and one of the most profound scholars of the age. He was the eldest son of Archbishop Spottiswood, and had, by his rare endowments and great merit, been noticed with distinction by King James and his successor, Charles. James conferred on him the order of knighthood, and made him a privy councillor, and Charles promoted him to the high situation of lord president of the Court of Session; and, upon the desertion of the Earl of Lanark to the Covenanters, the king appointed him principal secretary of state for Scotland instead of that nobleman. This appointment drew down upon him the hatred of the leading Covenanters, but still there were some among them who continued to respect him on account of his worth and shining talents, and when the vote was taken in Parliament whether he should suffer, the Earls of Eglintoun, Cassillis, Dun-

fermline, and Carnwath voted that his life should be spared; and the lord-chancellor and the Earl of Lanark, by leave of the house, declined voting. "Though many liked not his party, they liked his person, which made him many friends even among the Covenanters, insomuch, that after his sentence was read, some of the nobility spoke in his behalf, and entreated the House to consider the quality and parts of that excellent gentleman and most just judge, whom they had condemned, and begged earnestly his life might be spared. But an eminent knowledge and esteem, which, in other cases, might be a motive to save a criminal, was here only the cause of taking an innocent man's life, — so dangerous is it, in a corrupt age, to be eminently constant and virtuous. The gentlemen who spoke were told that the authority of the established government was not secure while Sir Robert's life was spared. Whereupon the noblemen who presided at the meeting of the Estates at Glasgow, and in the Parliament at St. Andrews, openly declared, when they signed the respective sentences, that they did sign as preses, and in obedience to the command of the Estates, but not as to their particular judgment."

After he had mounted the scaffold, still reeking with the blood of Colonel Gordon, Sir Robert surveyed the terrific scene around him with singular composure, which, added to his appearance, which was naturally grave and dignified, filled the breasts of the spectators with a feeling of compassion. Sir Robert had intended to have addressed the people, and had prepared a written speech for the occasion,[2] but on turning round to address the spectators, he was prevented from proceeding by the provost of St. Andrews, formerly a servant of Sir Robert's father, who had been instigated to impose silence upon him by Robert Blair, one of those ministers who,

to the scandal of religion, had dishonoured their profession by calling out for the blood of their countrymen. Blair's motive in occasioning this interruption is said to have arisen from a dread he entertained that Sir Robert would expose the designs of the Covenanters, and impress the bystanders with an unfavourable opinion of their proceedings. Sir Robert bore the interruption with the most unruffled composure, and, as he saw no chance of succeeding, he threw the manuscript of his speech amongst the crowd, and applied himself to his private devotions. But here again he was annoyed by the officious impertinence of Blair, who rudely asked him whether he (Blair) and the people should pray for the salvation of his soul. To this question Sir Robert answered, that he indeed desired the prayers of the people; but knowing the bloodthirsty character of the man he was addressing, who had come to tease him in his last moments, he told him that he "would have no concern with his prayers, which he believed were impious, and an abomination unto God; adding, that of all the plagues with which the offended majesty of God had scourged the nation, this was certainly by far the greatest, greater than even the sword, fire, or pestilence; that for the sins of the people God had sent a lying spirit into the mouths of the prophets." This answer raised the fury of Blair, who assailed Sir Robert with the most acrimonious imputations, and reviled the memory of his father by the most infamous charges; but Sir Robert was too deeply absorbed in meditation to regard such obloquy. Having finished his devotions, this great and good man, after uttering these words, "Merciful Jesus! gather my soul unto thy saints and martyrs who have run before me in this race," laid his neck upon the fatal block, and in an instant his head was severed from his body.

After Sir Robert Spottiswood's execution, Captain Guthry, son of the ex-bishop of Moray, was next led to the scaffold. The fierce and unfeeling Blair, who had already officiously witnessed, with the most morbid complacency, the successive executions of Colonel Gordon and Sir Robert, not satisfied with reviling the latter gentleman in his last and awful moments, and lacerating his feelings by heaping every sort of obloquy upon the memory of his father, vented the dregs of his impotent rage upon the unfortunate victim now before him; but Guthry bore all this man's reproaches with becoming dignity, and declared that he considered it an honour to die in defence of the just cause of his sovereign. He met his death with the fortitude of a hero and the firmness of a Christian.

In consequence of an application to the Parliament by the Earl of Tulliebardine, the execution of his brother, William Murray, was delayed till the twenty-third day of January. The case of this unfortunate young man excited a strong feeling of regret among the Covenanters themselves, and some writers have not scrupled to blame the earl as the cause of his death, that he might succeed to his patrimony. Some countenance is afforded to this conjecture from the circumstance that the earl not only made no exertions to save his brother from condemnation, but that he even absented himself from Parliament the day that his brother's case came to be discussed, when, by his presence or his vote, he might have saved his brother's life. Nor is this supposition, it is contended, in any shape weakened by the attempt he afterward made to get off his brother; for he must have known that the Parliament had gone too far to retract, and could not, without laying itself open to the charge of the grossest partiality, reprieve Mr. Murray, and allow their sentence to be carried into execution against the

other prisoners. If true, however, that the earl delivered the speech imputed to him by Bennet, there can be no doubt of his being a participator in the death of his brother, but it would be hard to condemn him on such questionable authority. To whatever cause it was owing, Mr. Murray was not, during his last moments, subjected to the annoyances of Blair, nor was he prevented from delivering the following speech to the persons assembled to witness his execution. He spoke in a loud tone of voice as follows: "I hope, my countrymen, you will reckon that the house of Tulliebardine, and the whole family of Murray, have this day acquired a new and no small addition of honour; that a young man, descended of that ancient race, has, though innocent, and in the flower of his age, with the greatest readiness and cheerfulness, delivered up his life for his king, the father of his country, and the most munificent patron and benefactor of that family from which he is sprung. Let not my honoured mother, my dearest sisters, my kindred or my friends lament the shortness of my life, seeing that it is abundantly recompensed by the honour of my death. Pray for my soul, and God be with you."

Many prisoners, but of less note, still remained to be disposed of; but the Parliament, either averse to shed more blood, or from other considerations, took no steps against them. The Committee of the Kirk, however, being actuated by other motives, pressed the Parliament to dispose of some more of the "malignants;" but the bloody zeal of these clerical enthusiasts was checked by the better sense of the Parliament; and in order to get rid of their importunities for blood, a suggestion was made to them by the leading men in Parliament to lay before them an "overture," proposing some more lenient mode of punishment. The "godly" broth-

erhood soon met, but a considerable difference of opinion prevailing as to the nature of the punishment to be submitted to Parliament in the proposed overture, the moderator asked David Dickson what he thought best to be done with the prisoners, who answered "in his homely way of speaking, 'shame them and herry (plunder) them.'" This proposal being adopted, was made the subject of an overture, which was accordingly presented to Parliament; and to meet the views of the ministers, a remit was made to a large committee, which was appointed to meet at Linlithgow, the twenty-fifth of February, to fix the amount of the fines to be imposed upon the different delinquents.

While the proceedings before detailed were going on at St. Andrews, Montrose was ineffectually endeavouring to reduce the garrison of Inverness, the acquisition of which would have been of some importance to him. Had the Marquis of Huntly kept his promise, and joined Montrose, its capture might have been effected; but that nobleman never made his appearance, and as Inverness was thus left open on the side which it was intended he should block up, the enemy were enabled to supply themselves with provisions and warlike stores, of which they stood in great need. Huntly, however, afterward crossed the Spey, and entered Moray with a considerable force; but instead of joining Montrose, who repeatedly sent for him, he wasted his time in fruitless enterprises, besieging and taking a few castles of no importance.

As Huntly, who envied the military glory of Montrose, probably did not think that the capture of a few obscure castles was sufficient to establish his pretensions as Montrose's rival, he resolved to seize Aberdeen, and had advanced on his way as far as Kintore, where he was met by Ludovick Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, who

had retired from the Mearns, where he had been stationed with Montrose's horse, on hearing of the approach of the Parliamentary army under the command of General Middleton toward Aberdeen. This intelligence was quite sufficient to induce the marquis to desist from his enterprise. Lindsay then marched into Buchan, and burnt the town of Fraserburgh. He, thereafter, went to Banff, but was compelled to retire hastily into Moray with some loss in February, 1646, by a division of Middleton's army under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomery and Major David Barclay.

About this time intelligence was brought to Montrose that General Middleton had arrived at Aberdeen with a force of six hundred horse and eight hundred foot. He now renewed his entreaties to Huntly to join him immediately, that they might either reduce Inverness or march jointly upon Aberdeen and attack Middleton; but the jealousy or vanity of Huntly would not permit him to accede to Montrose's request. This refusal exasperated Montrose to such a degree that he resolved to have recourse to force to compel compliance, as he could no longer endure to see the authority of the sovereign, whose deputy he was, thus trampled upon and despised. As he had already brought over the Earl of Seaforth to his side, who had induced the heads of some of the principal clans to form a confederation for obtaining a national peace, he was fully in a condition to have reduced Huntly to obedience; but the sudden advance of Middleton prevented Montrose from making the attempt.

Wishart relates rather an incredible story respecting an alleged piece of treachery on the part of Lord Lewis Gordon on this occasion. He states that, as Montrose had no reliance on Huntly, and as he " began now to

think it high time to look more carefully to his own safety, lest Huntly's malice might at last carry him the length even to betray him," he sent three troops of horse to the fords of the Spey to watch the motions of the enemy, with orders, if they approached, to send him immediate intimation of their movements. This body, it is said, occupied the most convenient stations, and watched with very great diligence for some time, till Lord Lewis, who then kept the castle of Rothes, having contrived his scheme of villainy, assured the officers who commanded the horse, that the enemy was very far distant, and had no intention to pass the river; he, therefore, advised them to cease watching, and having invited them to the castle, where they were sumptuously entertained by him, plied with wine and spirits, and detained till such time as Lord Middleton had crossed the Spey with a large army of horse and foot, and penetrated far into Moray, he dismissed his guests with these jeering remarks: "Go, return to your General Montrose, who will now have better work than he had at Selkirk." Such a statement carries its own condemnation upon the face of it, for even supposing that Montrose's officers had acted the stupid part imputed to them, they would certainly not have forgotten their duty so far as to order their men to abandon their posts.

It was in the month of May, 1646, that General Middleton left Aberdeen at the head of his army, on his way to Inverness. He left behind him in Aberdeen a regiment of horse, and another of foot, for the protection of the town, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomery. Middleton made a rapid march, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Inverness on the ninth of May, driving before him the few troops of horse which Montrose had stationed on the Spey to watch his motions. On being warned of Middleton's approach, Montrose

drew his troops together, and took up a position at some distance from the town; but having ascertained that Middleton was strong in cavalry, he hastily crossed the River Ness. Middleton, thereupon, despatched two regiments of cavalry after him, who attacked his rear, cut off some of his men, and captured two pieces of cannon and part of his baggage. Montrose continued his retreat by Beauly into Rosshire, whither he was pursued by Middleton, who, however, suffered some loss in the pursuit. As Montrose's forces were far inferior, in point of numbers, to those of Middleton, he avoided coming to an engagement, and as Seaforth's men, who had joined Montrose at Inverness, under their chief, began to desert him in great numbers, and as he could not depend on the population by which he was surrounded, Montrose turned to the right, and passing by Lochness, marched through Strathglass and Strath-errick to the banks of the Spey. Middleton did not follow Montrose, but went and laid siege to the castle of the Earl of Seaforth in the chanonry of Ross, which he took after a siege of four days. He behaved toward the Countess of Seaforth, who was within the castle, with great politeness, and restored it to her after taking away the ammunition which it contained.

The absence of Middleton from Aberdeen afforded Huntly an opportunity of accomplishing the design which he formerly entertained, till scared by the approach of Middleton from the south, of taking Aberdeen, and accordingly he ordered his men to march from Deeside to Inverury, where he appointed a general rendezvous to be held on the tenth of May. Colonel Montgomery, being aware of his motions, beat up his quarters the same night at Kintore with a party of horse, and killed some of his men. But Montgomery was repulsed by Lord Lewis Gordon, with some loss, and

forced to retire back to Aberdeen. The marquis appeared at the gates of Aberdeen at twelve o'clock on the following day, with a force of fifteen hundred Highland foot and six hundred horse, and stormed it in three different places. The garrison defended themselves with courage, and twice repulsed the assailants, in which contest a part of the town was set on fire; but a fresh reinforcement having entered the town, under Lord Aboyne, the attack was renewed, and Montgomery and his horse were forced to retire down to the edge of the River Dee, which they crossed by swimming. The covenanting foot, after taking refuge in the tolbooth and in the houses of the earl marshal and Menzies of Pitfoddles, craved quarter and surrendered at discretion. Although the city of Aberdeen had done nothing to incur Huntly's displeasure, he allowed his Highlanders to pillage it. About twenty officers were taken prisoners, among whom were Colonels Hurry, Barclay, and David Leighton; besides Sir William Forbes of Craigievar, and other country gentlemen, particularly of the name of Forbes; but they were also released next day on their parole of honour not to serve against the king in future. There were killed on the side of the Covenanters, Colonel William Forbes, Captain Lockhart, son of Sir James Lockhart of Lee, and three other captains of foot, besides a considerable number of privates; but Huntly lost only about twenty men in whole.

As Huntly's force was considerably reduced by the return of the Highlanders, who had accompanied him, to their own houses, with the booty which they had collected in Aberdeen, and, as he was apprehensive of the immediate return of Middleton from the north, Huntly remained but a short time in Aberdeen. Marching up the north bank of the Dee, he encamped in Cromar; but the sudden appearance of Middleton, who, on hear-

ing of Huntly's advance on Aberdeen, had retraced his steps and re-crossed the Spey, made him retire into Mar, where he was followed by Middleton, who, in some slight skirmishes, cut off some of his men; but Middleton discontinued the pursuit and returned to Aberdeen, which he found had suffered severely from Huntly's visit.

After an ineffectual attempt by Montrose to obtain an interview with Huntly at the Bog of Gicht, whither he had gone after Middleton's return to Aberdeen, Montrose resolved to make a tour through the Highlands, in the hope that he would be able, by his personal presence, and by promising suitable rewards, to induce the clans to rise in defence of their sovereign; but with the determination, in case of refusal, to enforce obedience to his commands. This resolution was not taken by Montrose, without the concurrence of some of his best friends, who promised to aid him by every means in their power, in carrying it into effect. In pursuance of his design, Montrose was just about setting out on his proposed journey, when, on the last day of May, a messenger arrived with a letter [3] from the king, requesting him to disband his forces, and to retire, himself, to France, where he would receive "further directions." After the disastrous battle of Naseby, which was fought on the fourteenth day of June, 1644, between the English Royalists and the Parliamentary forces, the campaign in England, on the part of the king, "presented little more than the last and feeble struggles of an expiring party." The king had been enabled, in consequence of the recall of the horse, which had reached Nottingham, on their way to Hereford, under General David Leslie, after the battle of Kilsyth, to drive the Parliamentary infantry back from the siege of Hereford; but the surrender of Bristol to the forces of the Parliament, on the tenth

of September, and the defeat of the Royalists at Chester, on the twenty-third of the same month, completed the ruin of the king's affairs. Having shut himself up in Oxford, for the last time, in November following, Charles, after the discovery of the secret treaty with the Catholics of Ireland, which had been entered into by the Earl of Glamorgan, endeavoured to negotiate with the English Parliament in the expectation that if he could gain either of the parties (the Presbyterians and Independents) over to his side, by fair promises, he would be enabled to destroy both.[4] That negotiation, however, not succeeding, a separate negotiation was set on foot, through the medium of Montrevil, the French envoy, with the Scots army before Newark, the leaders of which offered an asylum to the king on certain conditions. At length Charles, undetermined as to the course he should pursue, on hearing of the approach of the Parliamentary army, under Fairfax, left Oxford at midnight, on the twenty-seventh of April, 1646, in the disguise of a servant, accompanied by Mr. Ashburnham and Doctor Hudson, a clergyman, and, after traversing the neighbouring country, arrived at Southwell on the fifth of May, where he was introduced by Montrevil to the Earl of Leven, the commander of the Scots army, and the officers of his staff. The arrival of the king seemed to surprise the officers very much, although it is generally supposed that they had been made previously aware of his intentions by Hudson, who had preceded him, and they treated him with becoming respect, the commander tendering his bare sword upon his knee; but when Charles, who had retained Leven's sword, indicated his intention to take the command of the army, by giving orders to the guard, that crafty veteran unhesitatingly thus addressed him: "I am the older soldier, Sir: your Majesty had better leave that

office to me." The king was, in fact, now a prisoner. As soon as the intelligence reached the capital, that the king had retired to the Scots camp, the two Parliamentary factions united in accusing the Scots of perfidy, and sent a body of five thousand horse to watch their motions; but the Scots, being desirous to avoid hostilities, raised their camp before Newark, and hastily retired to Newcastle, carrying the king along with them.

On arriving at Newcastle, the king was waited upon by the Earls of Lanark and Callander, and Lord Balmerino, who paid their respects to him. As Callander was understood to be favourably inclined to the king, Lanark and Balmerino were desirous to get rid of him, and accordingly they prevailed upon his Majesty to send Callander back to Edinburgh with a letter, which they had induced his Majesty to write to the Committee of Estates, expressive of his desire to comply with the wishes of the Scots Parliament, and containing instructions to them to order Montrose, Huntly, and Sir Alexander Macdonald to disband their forces. And it was also at the desire of these two noblemen that the king wrote the letter to Montrose referred to.

After Montrose had read this letter he was filled with deep amazement and concern. All those visionary schemes for accomplishing the great object of his ambition, which a few minutes before had floated in his vivid imagination, were now dispelled. He was now placed in one of the most painful and difficult situations it is possible to conceive. He had no doubt that the letter had been extorted from the king, yet he considered that it would neither be prudent nor safe for him to risk the responsibility of disobeying the king's orders. Besides, were he to attempt to act contrary to these instructions, he might thereby compromise the safety of the king, as his enemies would find it no

difficult affair to convince the army that Montrose was acting according to private instructions from the king himself. On the other hand, by instantly disbanding his army, Montrose considered that he would leave the Royalists, and all those friends who had shared his dangers, to the mercy of his enemies. In this dilemma, he determined to convene a general meeting of all the principal Royalists to consult as to how he should act, — a resolution which showed his good sense, and kind and just feeling toward those who had been induced by his means to risk their lives and fortunes in the cause of the king. Notwithstanding the many slights which had been put upon him by the Marquis of Huntly, Montrose, anxious to preserve a good understanding with him, sent Sir John Hurry and Sir John Innes, two gentlemen the most unexceptionable he could select, to Huntly, to invite him to attend the proposed meeting, and that there might not appear any idea of dictation on the part of Montrose, the time and place of meeting was left to Huntly's own choice. But this haughty nobleman answered that he himself had received orders similar to those sent to Montrose, which he was resolved to obey immediately, and, therefore, he declined to attend any meeting on the subject.

In this situation of matters, Montrose considered that his best and wisest course would be to keep his army together till he should receive another communication from the king, in answer to a letter which he sent by a messenger of his own, in which he begged his Majesty to acquaint him of the real situation of matters, whether he considered his person safe in the hands of the Covenanters, and if he could be of any further service to him. Montrose begged also to be informed by the king, if he persevered in his resolution to disband an army which had fought so bravely in his defence, and that at a time

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when his enemies, in both kingdoms, were still under arms; and if so, he wished to be instructed by his Majesty as to the course he should pursue, for the protection and security of the lives and fortunes of those brave men, who had encountered so many dangers, and had spent their blood in his defence, as he could not endure the idea of leaving such loyal subjects to the mercy of their enemies. The king returned an answer to this letter, by the former messenger, Ker, in which he assured him that he no less esteemed his willingness to lay down arms at his command, "for a gallant and real expression" of his zeal and affection to his service than any of his former actions; but he hoped that Montrose had not such a mean opinion of him, that for any particular or worldly respects he would suffer him (Montrose) to be ruined; that his only reason for sending Montrose out of the country was that he might return with greater glory, and, in the meantime, to have as honourable an employment as he (the king) could confer upon him; that Ker would tell him the care he had of all Montrose's friends, and his own, to whom, although he could not promise such conditions as he would have wished, yet they would be such, all things considered, as were most fit for them to accept. "Wherefore," continues his Majesty, "I renew my former directions, of laying down arms, unto you, desiring you to let Huntly, Crawford, Airly, Seaforth, and Ogilvy, know, that want of time hath made me now omit to reiterate my former commands unto you, intending that this shall serve for all; assuring them, and all the rest of my friends, that, whensoever God shall enable me, they shall reap the fruits of their loyalty and affection to my service."

These "conditions," which consisted of several articles, and in the drawing up of which the king probably

had no concern, were far from satisfactory to Montrose, who refused to accede to them. He even refused to treat with the Covenanters, and he sent back the messenger to the king to notify to him, that as he had acted under his Majesty's commission, he would admit of no conditions for laying down his arms, or disbanding his army, which did not come directly from the king himself, but that if his Majesty imposed conditions upon him, he would accept of them with the most implicit submission. The king, who had no alternative but to adopt these conditions as his own, put his name to them and sent back the messenger with them, with fresh instructions to Montrose to disband his army forthwith under the pain of high treason. Besides Ker, the king despatched another trusty messenger to Montrose with a private letter [5] urging him to accept of the conditions offered, as in the event of his refusal to break up his army, his Majesty might be placed "in a very sad condition," such as he would rather leave Montrose to guess at than to seek himself to express. From this expression, it would appear that Charles already began to entertain some apprehensions about his personal safety. These commands of the king were too peremptory to be any longer withstood, and as Montrose had been informed that several of the leading Royalists, particularly the Marquis of Huntly, Lord Aboyne, and the Earl of Seaforth, were negotiating with the Estates in their own behalf, and that Huntly and Aboyne had even offered to compel Montrose to lay down his arms in compliance with the orders of the king, he immediately resolved to disband his army.

As Middleton had been entrusted by the Committee of Estates with ample powers to negotiate with the Royalists, and to see the conditions offered to Montrose implemented by him in case of acceptance, a cessation

of arms was agreed upon between Montrose and Middleton; and in order to discuss the conditions, a conference was held between them on the twenty-second day of July, on a meadow, near the River Ilay, in Angus, where they "conferred for the space of two hours, there being none near them but one man for each of them to hold his horse." The conditions agreed upon were these, that with the exception of Montrose himself, the Earl of Crawford, Sir Alexander Macdonald, and Sir John Hurry, all those who had taken up arms against the Covenanters would be pardoned on making their submission, and that Montrose, Crawford, Hurry, and Graham of Gorthy should transport themselves beyond seas, before the last day of August, in a ship to be provided by the Estates. This arrangement was ratified by the Committee of Estates, but the Committee of the Kirk exclaimed against it, and petitioned the Committee of Estates not to sanction it.

Preparatory to disbanding his army, Montrose appointed it to rendezvous at Rattray, in the neighbourhood of Cupar Angus, at which place, on the thirtieth day of July, he discharged his men, after addressing a feeling and animated oration to them, in which, "after giving them due praise for their faithful services and good behaviour, he told them his orders, and bid them farewell, an event no less sorrowful to the whole army than to himself; and, notwithstanding he used his utmost endeavours to raise their drooping spirits, and encourage them with the flattering prospect of a speedy and desirable peace, and assured them that he contributed to the king's safety and interest by his present ready submission, no less than he had formerly done by his military attempts; yet they concluded, that a period was that day put to the king's authority, which would expire with the dissolution of their army, for dis-

banding of which, they were all convinced the orders had been extorted from the king, or granted by him on purpose to evite a greater and more immediate evil. And, upon whatever favourable conditions their own safety might be provided for, yet they lamented their own fate, and would much rather have undergone the greatest fatigue and hardships than be obliged to remain inactive and idle spectators of the miseries and calamities befalling their dearest sovereign. Neither were their generous souls a little concerned for the unworthy and disgraceful opinion which foreign nations and after ages could not fail to conceive of the Scots, as universally dipt in rebellion, and guilty of defection from the best of kings. Their sorrow was likewise considerably augmented by the thoughts of being separated from their brave and successful general, who was now obliged to enter into a kind of banishment, to the irreparable loss of the king, the country, themselves, and all good men, at a time when they never had greater occasion for his service. And falling down upon their knees, with tears in their eyes, they obtested him, that seeing the king's safety and interest required his immediate departure from the kingdom, he would take them along with him to whatever corner of the world he would retire, professing their readiness to live, to fight, nay, if it so pleased God, even to die under his command And not a few of them had privately determined, though at the evident risk of their lives and fortunes, to follow him without his knowledge, and even against his inclination, and to offer him their service in a foreign land, which they could not any longer afford him in their own distressed native country."

Such is the account of the affecting farewell between Montrose and the few remaining brave and adventurous men who had shared with him in all the dangers and vi-

cissitudes of the battle-field, as related by a warm partisan of fallen royalty; yet there is no reason for supposing that he has given an exaggerated view of the feelings of the warlike and devoted band at parting, under existing circumstances, with their beloved commander, who had so often led them to victory, and whose banishment from his native country they regarded as the death-blow to their hopes.

Upon the dissolution of Montrose's army, the Scots officers and soldiers retired to their respective homes, and the Irish troops marched westward into Argyle, whence they embarked for their own country, being accompanied thither by the Earl of Crawford, who from thence went to Spain. Montrose, along with the few friends who were to follow him abroad, took up his abode at his seat of Old Montrose, there to wait the arrival of the vessel destined to convey them to the continent. The day fixed for Montrose's departure was the first of September, and he waited with impatience for the arrival of the expected vessel; but as the month of August was fast expiring without such vessel making its appearance, or any apparent preparation for the voyage, Montrose's friends applied to the Committee of the Estates for a prorogation of the day stipulated for his departure, but they could obtain no satisfactory answer.

At length, on the last day of August, a vessel for the reception of the marquis entered the harbour of Montrose, in which he proposed immediately to embark, but he was told by the shipmaster, "a violent and rigid Covenanter," that he meant to careen his vessel before going to sea, an operation which would occupy a few days. In the course of conversation, the shipmaster bluntly stated to his intended passengers, that he had received express instructions to land them at certain ports. The be-

haviour of the captain, joined to the information he had communicated, and the fact that several English ships of war had been seen for several days off the coast, as if watching his embarkation and departure, of which fact he had received private information from some friends, created a strong suspicion in Montrose's mind that a plan had been laid for capturing him, and induced him to consult his own safety and that of his friends by seeking another way of leaving the kingdom. He accordingly sent some trusty persons to the other harbours in the north to search for and engage any foreign vessel they might fall in with to be ready, on a day to be fixed, to carry out to Norway such passengers as might present themselves; but such a plan was considered so hopeless by Montrose's friends, who still remained with him, that they advised him, as the best course which could be pursued under such dangerous circumstances, to retire to the Highlands, to collect his forces again, and trust to the chances of war; but he was opposed to such a proposal, principally on the ground that such a step on his part would be imputed to the king, whose life might thereby be endangered. The anxiety of Montrose and his followers was speedily relieved by the arrival of intelligence, that a small vessel belonging to Bergen, in Norway, had been found in the neighbouring harbour of Stonehaven; and that the master had engaged, on being promised a handsome freight, to be in readiness, against an appointed day, to sail with such passengers as should appear.

Accordingly, after sending off Sir John Hurry, John Drummond of Balloch, Graham of Gorthy, Doctor Wishart, and a few other friends by land to Stonehaven, on the third day of September, 1646, he himself left the harbour of Montrose in a small boat, disguised as the servant of James Wood, a clergyman, who accompanied

him; and the same evening went safely on board the vessel, into which his friends had embarked, and setting sail with a fair wind, arrived in a few days at Bergen, in Norway, where he received a friendly welcome from Thomas Gray, a Scotsman, the governor of the castle of Bergen.

CHAPTER III

DEFEAT OF ROYALISTS

As soon as the news of the flight of the king reached London, the greatest agitation prevailed; and the two great parties, — the Presbyterians and Independents, — each of which was struggling for ascendency, became even still more distrustful of one another; but when they ascertained the place of his retreat, they joined in reprobating the conduct of the Scots, who, they erroneously supposed, had induced the king to put himself in their power. The possession of the royal person had been long desired by both factions as of paramount importance in paving the way for the accomplishment of their respective objects; but the unexpected step which the king had just taken seemed to render their prospects for ever hopeless. But they soon found that the case was not so bad as they had imagined, for the king was not only prevailed upon to order his officers to surrender the fortresses which they still retained, but to become a suppliant for peace by requesting both Houses of Parliament to offer him propositions for consideration.

Some of these propositions were, however, such as the king could not, in conscience, submit to, and others were quite incompatible with monarchical government. The refusal of the king to agree to these conditions, one of which stipulated the establishment of the Directory, and the recognition of the Westminster Confession, while it displeased the Presbyterian party, inspired the

Independents with fresh hopes, and the latter now began to indicate pretty plainly their intention of dethroning the king. While the two Houses were engaged in new deliberations, in consequence of the king's refusal to accede, the chancellor (Loudon), the Marquis of Argyle, and the Earl of Dunfermline, who had offered to the king to go up to London, and treat with the Parliament for a litigation of the propositions, arrived in London; but, as the Royalists had observed, it was soon seen " that their treating would end in a bargain; " for, although professing themselves great sticklers for the freedom, honour, and safety of the king, they not only offered to concur in any measures that Parliament might propose, should the king remain obstinate, but offered to withdraw the Scots army from England, on receiving payment of the arrears of pay due to the army for its services. Such an offer was too tempting to be withstood; and a committee having been appointed to adjust the balance due to the Scots, it was finally agreed by the latter, after many charges on both sides had been disallowed,' to accept of £400,000 in full of all demands, one moiety of which was to be paid before the Scots army left England and the other after its return to Scotland.

Whatever may have been the understanding between the Scots commissioners and the English Parliament as to the disposal of the king, it is certain that in fixing the terms on which the Scots army should retire from England, that question was left quite open for discussion, as is sufficiently instructed by the subsequent vote of the two Houses, that the right of disposing of the king belonged to the Parliament of England, a vote which " gave birth to a controversy unprecedented in history," and which threatened to involve the two nations in war. To say, therefore, that the Scots nation

sold their king is a foul calumny, refuted by the whole history of the transactions which preceded the delivery of the king to the English Parliamentary commissioners, for although a majority of the persons who attended the Scottish Parliament complied with the demand of the English Parliament for possession of the king's person, a virtuous minority, with whom was the great bulk of the nation, voted against it. A celebrated historian, who may be supposed very impartial in his views of the conduct of the Scots on this occasion, because opposed to the common opinion of his countrymen, thus defends the Scottish nation from the charge in question: "The Royalists, ever since the king's visit to Newark, had viewed with anxiety and terror the cool, calculating policy of the Scots. The result converted their suspicions into certitude; they hesitated not to accuse them of falsehood and perfidy, and to charge them with having allured the king to their army by deceitful promises, that, Judas-like, they might barter him for money with his enemies. Insinuations so injurious to the character of the nation ought not to be lightly admitted. That fanaticism and self-interest had steeled the breasts of the Covenanters against the more generous impulses of loyalty and compassion may indeed be granted; but more than this cannot be legitimately inferred from any proof furnished by history. (1) The despatches of Montrevil make it evident that the verbal engagement of the commissioners at London was disavowed by the commissioners with the army before Newark; that the king was officially informed that it would never be carried into execution; and that, if he afterward sought an asylum among the Scots, he was not drawn thither by their promises, but driven by necessity and despair. (2) If the delivery of the royal person, connected as it was with the receipt

of £200,000, bore the appearance of a sale, it ought to be remembered, that the accounts between the two nations had been adjusted in the beginning of September; that, for four months afterward, they never ceased to negotiate in favour of Charles; nor did they resign the care of his person till the votes of the English Parliament compelled them to make the choice between compliance and war. It may be, that in forming their decision their personal interest was not forgotten; but there was another consideration which had no small weight even with the friends of the monarch. It was urged, that by suffering the king to reside at Holmby, they would do away the last pretext for keeping on foot the army under the command of Fairfax; the dissolution of that army would annihilate the influence of the Independents, and give an undisputed ascendency to the Presbyterians, the first, the declared enemies, the others the avowed advocates of Scotland, of the Kirk, and of the king; and the necessary consequence must be, that the two Parliaments would be left at liberty to arrange, in conformity with the Covenant, both the establishment of religion and the restoration of the throne."

While the negotiations for the delivery of the king were pending, Charles, who seems to have been fully aware of them, meditated the design of escaping from the Scots army, and putting himself at the head of such forces as the Marquis of Huntly could raise in the north. In pursuance of this design, his Majesty, about the middle of December, 1646, sent Robert Leslie, brother of General David Leslie, with letters and a private commission to Huntly, by which he was informed of his Majesty's intentions, and Huntly was, therefore, desired to levy what forces he could, and have them in readiness to take the field on his arrival in the north.

On receipt of his Majesty's commands, Huntly began to raise forces, and having collected them at Banff, he fortified the town, and there awaited the king's arrival. But the king was prevented from putting his plan into execution by a premature discovery. It is stated by Guthry that Leslie and his committee having begun to talk of confining his Majesty, and "that it might be handsomely done, and upon some show of reason, William Murray, of the bedchamber, furnished a pretext, suggesting privately to his Majesty something concerning an escape, and offering to make his way, and have a ship in readiness to transport him." He then observes that it is uncertain "what entertainment his Majesty gave to the motion," but that, "before the time came which William Murray had set, it was so divulged that there was no other discourse throughout the army but of William Murray's plot to carry away the king; and thereupon, a guard of soldiers was presently planted at his chamber-door, both within and without; whereby his Majesty was not only deprived of liberty, but also of quiet and retirement; and having an antipathy against tobacco, was much perplexed by reason of their continual smoking by him." Although Murray, who, upon the discovery, retired to London, was imprisoned at the instigation of the Scots commissioners for planning the king's escape, yet it was believed by the "malignants" to be a mere pretence to deceive the king, whom they supposed he had betrayed in the expectation that should his Majesty be again induced to trust him he might render them further service.

After the delivery of the king to the English, on the twenty-eighth day of January, 1647, the Scots army returned to Scotland. It was thereupon remodelled and reduced, by order of the Parliament, to six thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, a force which was con-

sidered sufficient not only to keep the Royalists in awe, but also to reduce the Marquis of Huntly and Sir Alexander Macdonald, who were still at the head of some forces. The dispersion, therefore, of the forces under both these commanders became the immediate object of the Parliament. An attempt had been made in the month of January, 1647, by a division of the covenanting army stationed in Aberdeenshire, under the command of Major Bickerton, to surprise the Marquis of Huntly at Banff, but he had been obliged to retire with loss; and Huntly continued to remain in his position till the month of April, when, on the approach of General David Leslie with a considerable force, he fled with a few friends to the mountains of Lochaber for shelter. Leslie thereupon reduced the castles belonging to the marquis. He first took that of Strathbogie, and sent the commander thereof, the laird of Newton-Gordon, to Edinburgh; then the castle of Lesmore; and lastly, the Bog of Gicht, or Gordon castle, the commander of which, James Gordon of Letterfurie, and his brother, Thomas Gordon of Clastirim, and other gentlemen of the name of Gordon, were sent to Edinburgh as prisoners. Leslie next took the isle of Lochtanner, in Aboyne, which had been fortified by Huntly. Quarter was given to the men who garrisoned those different strengths, with the exception of the Irish and deserters, who were hanged immediately on their capture.

Having taken these different places, Leslie next marched into Badenoch, in quest of the marquis, where he captured the castle of Ruthven. From thence he proceeded into Lochaber, and took the fortress of Inverlochy. The covenanting general, thereupon, marched to the south with a part of his forces, leaving the remainder in the north, under the command of Middleton, and encamped in Strathallan, he himself taking up his

headquarters in Dunblane. Here he remained till the middle of May, when he was joined by the Marquis of Argyle, and ordered to advance into that nobleman's country to drive out Sir Alexander Macdonald. Accordingly, he began his march on the seventeenth of May, and arrived at Inverary on the twenty-first. Sir Alexander Macdonald was at this time in Kintyre, with a force of about fourteen hundred foot and two troops of horse, which would have been fully sufficient to have checked Leslie, but he seems not to have been aware of the advance of Leslie, and had taken no precautions to guard the passes leading into that peninsula, which might have been successfully defended by a handful of men against a considerable force. Having secured these difficult passes, Leslie advanced into Kintyre, and after skirmishing the whole of the twenty-fifth of May with Macdonald, he forced him to retire. After throwing three hundred men into a fortress on the top of the hill of Dunavertie, and in which " there was not a drop of water but what fell from the clouds," Macdonald, on the following day, embarked his troops in boats provided for the occasion, and passed over into Ila.

Leslie, thereupon, laid siege to the castle of Dunavertie, which was well defended; but the assailants, having carried a trench at the bottom of the hill which gave the garrison the command of water, and in the storming of which the besieged lost forty men, the latter craved a parley, in consequence of which Sir James Turner, Leslie's adjutant-general, was sent to confer with the garrison on the terms of surrender. Leslie would not grant " any other conditions than that they should yield on discretion or mercy. And it seemed strange to me," continues Sir James Turner, " to hear the lieutenant-general's nice distinction, that they should

yield themselves to the kingdom's mercy, and not to his. At length they did so, and after they were come out of the castle, they were put to the sword, every mother's son, except one young man, Maccoul, whose life I begged to be sent to France, with a hundred fellows which we had smoked out of a cave, as they do foxes, who were given to Captain Campbell, the chancellor's brother." This atrocious act was perpetrated at the instigation of John Nave or Neaves, " a bloody preacher," but, according to Wodrow, an " excellent man," who would not be satisfied with less than the blood of the prisoners. As the account given by Sir James Turner, an eye-witness of this infamous transaction, is curious, no apology is necessary for inserting it. " Here it will be fit to make a stop, till this cruel action be canvassed. First, the lieutenant-general was two days irresolute what to do. The Marquis of Argyle was accused at his arraignment of this murder, and I was examined as a witness. I declared, which was true, that I never heard him advise the lieutenant-general to it. What he did in private I know not. Secondly, Argyle was but a colonel then, and he had no power to do it of himself. Thirdly, though he had advised him to it, it was no capital crime; for counsel is no command. Fourthly, I have several times spoke to the lieutenant-general to save these men's lives, and he always assented to it, and I know of himself he was unwilling to shed their blood. Fifthly, Mr. John Nave," who was appointed by the Commission of the Kirk to wait on him as his chaplain, " never ceased to tempt him to that bloodshed, yea, and threatened him with the curses befell Saul for sparing the Amalekites, for with them his theology taught him to compare the Dunavertie men. And I verily believe that this prevailed most with David Leslie, who looked upon Nave as the representative of the Kirk of Scotland."

The statement of Sir James and David Leslie's repugnance to shed the blood of those defenceless men is fully corroborated by Bishop Guthry, on the authority of many persons who were present, who says that while the butchery was going on, and while Leslie, Argyle, and Neaves were walking over the ankles in blood, Leslie turned out and thus addressed the latter: "Now, Mr. John, have you not once got your fill of blood?" The sufferers on this occasion were partly Irish, and partly belonging to the Clan Dougal or Coull, to the castle of whose chief, in Lorne, Colonel Robert Montgomerie now laid siege, while Leslie himself, with a part of his forces, left Kintyre for Ila in pursuit of Macdonald.

On landing in Ila, Leslie found that Macdonald had fled to Ireland, and had left Colkittoch, his father, in the castle of Dunniveg, with a force of two hundred men to defend the island against the superior power of Leslie. The result turned out as might have been anticipated. Although the garrison made a brave resistance, yet, being wholly without water, they found themselves unable to resist, and offered to capitulate on certain conditions. These were, that the officers should be entitled to go where they pleased, and that the privates should be sent to France. These conditions were agreed to, and were punctually fulfilled. Old Colkittoch had, however, the misfortune not to be included in this capitulation, for, before the castle had surrendered, "the old man, Coll," says Sir James Turner, "coming foolishly out of the house, where he was governor, on some parole or other, to speak with his old friend, the captain of Dunstaffnage castle, was surprised, and made prisoner, not without some stain to the lieutenant-general's honour. He was afterward hanged by a jury of Argyle's sheriff-depute, one George Campbell, from whose sentence few are said to have escaped that kind of death."

Leaving Ila, Leslie "boated over to Jura, a horrible isle," says Sir James Turner, "and a habitation fit for deer and wild beasts; and so from isle to isle," continues he, "till he came to Mull, which is one of the best of the Hebrides. Here Maclaine saved his lands, with the loss of his reputation, if he ever had any. He gave up his strong castles to Leslie, gave his eldest sonne for hostage of his fidelity, and, which was unchristian baseness in the lowest degree, he delivered up fourteen prettie Irishmen, who had been all along faithful to him, to the lieutenant-general, who immediately caused hang them all. It was not well done to demand them from Maclaine, but inexcusablie ill done in him to betray them. Here I cannot forget one Donald Campbell, fleshed in blood from his very infancie, who with all imaginable violence pressed that the whole Clan Maclaine should be put to the edge of the sword; nor could he be commanded to forbear his bloody suit by the lieutenant-general and two major-generals; and with some difficulty was he commanded silence by his chief, the Marquis of Argyle. For my part, I said nothing, for indeed I did not care though he had prevailed in his suit, the delivery of the Irish had so irritated me against that whole clan and name."

While Leslie was thus subduing the Hebrides, Middleton was occupied in pursuing the Marquis of Huntly through Glen-moriston, Badenoch, and other places, who was at length captured, by Lieutenant-Colonel Menzies, in Strathdon, in the month of December, 1647. Having received intelligence of the place of the marquis's retreat, Menzies came to Dalnabo with a select body of horse, consisting of three troops, about midnight, and immediately entered the house just as Huntly was going to bed. The marquis was attended by only ten gentlemen and servants, as a sort of body-guard, who,

notwithstanding the great disparity of numbers, made a brave attempt to protect the marquis, in which six of them were killed and the rest mortally wounded, among whom was John Grant, the landlord. On hearing that the marquis had been taken prisoner, the whole of his vassals in the neighbourhood, to the number of between four and five hundred, with Grant of Carron at their head, flew to arms to rescue him. Lieutenant-Colonel Menzies thereupon carried the marquis to the castle of Blairfindie, in Glenlivet, about four miles from Dalnabo, where the marquis received a notice from Grant and his party by the wife of Gordon of Munmore, that they had solemnly sworn that they would either rescue him or die to a man, and they requested him to give them such orders to carry their plan into effect as he might judge proper. But the marquis dissuaded his people from the intended attempt, and returned for answer that, now almost worn out with grief and fatigue, he could no longer live in hills and dens; and hoped that his enemies would not drive things to the worst; but if such was the will of Heaven, he could not outlive the sad fate he foresaw his royal master was likely to undergo; and be the event as it would, he doubted not but the just providence of God would restore the royal family, and his own along with it.

Besides the gentlemen and servants about Huntly's person, there were some Irish who were quartered in the offices about Dalnabo. These were carried prisoners by Menzies to Strathbogy, where Middleton then was, who ordered them all to be shot, a sentence which was carried into immediate execution. In consequence of an order from the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh, Menzies carried the marquis under a strong guard of horse to Leith, where, after being kept two days, he was delivered up to the magistrates, and incarcerated

in the jail of the city. The Committee had previously debated the question whether the marquis should be immediately executed or reprieved till the meeting of Parliament, but although the Argyle faction, notwithstanding the Marquis of Argyle withdrew before the vote was taken, and the Committee of the Church did everything in their power to procure the immediate execution of the marquis, his life was spared till the meeting of the Parliament by a majority of one vote. The Earl of Aboyne and Lord Lewis Gordon had the good fortune to escape to the continent. The first went to France, where he shortly thereafter died; the second took refuge in Holland. A reward of £1,000 sterling had been promised to any person who should apprehend Huntly, and for payment of which sum Menzies accordingly obtained an order, on the sixth of January, 1648, from the Committee of Estates.

It has been made the ground of a charge by the author of the history of the family of Gordon against Hamilton and Argyle, "to whom Huntly trusted so much," that they were "the first signers" of this order; but there seems to be really no room for accusation on this score, as these two noblemen merely signed the document in the order of precedence of rank before the rest of the committee. However, there seems to be no doubt that Argyle felt a malignant gratification at the capture of Huntly, and it is related by Spalding, that taking advantage of Huntly's situation, Argyle bought up all the comprisings on Huntly's lands, and that he caused summon at the market-cross of Aberdeen by sound of trumpet, all Huntly's wadsetters and creditors to appear at Edinburgh in the month of March following Huntly's imprisonment, calling on them to produce their securities before the Lords of Session, with certification that if they did not appear, their securities were to be

declared null and void. Some of Huntly's creditors sold their claims to Argyle, and having thus bought up all the rights he could obtain upon Huntly's estate at a small or nominal value, under the pretence that he was acting for the benefit of his nephew, Lord Gordon, he granted bonds for the amount which, according to Spalding, he never paid. In this way did Argyle possess himself of the marquis's estates, which he continued to enjoy upwards of twelve years; viz., from 1648 till the restoration of Charles II in 1660.

When the king, who was then a prisoner in Carisbrook castle, heard of the capture of Huntly, he wrote the following letter to the Earl of Lanark, then in London, in favour of the marquis:

"LANERK. — Hearing that the Marquis of Huntly is taken, and knowing the danger that he is in, I both strictly command you as a master, and earnestly desire you as a friend, that you will deal effectually with all those whom you have any interest in, for the saving of his life. It were, I know, lost time to use arguments to you for this, wherefore, I judge these lines necessary to add to your power, though not to your willingness, to do this most acceptable service for,

"Your most assured, real, constant friend,

"CHARLES R."

CARISBROOK,
17*th December*, 1647.

The earl, either from unwillingness or inability, appears to have paid no attention to this letter.

Shortly before the capture of the Marquis of Huntly, John Gordon of Innermarkie, Gordon, younger of Newton-Gordon, and the laird of Harthill, three of his chief friends, had been taken prisoners by Major-General

Middleton, and sent to Edinburgh, where they were imprisoned. The two latter were condemned to die by the Committee of Estates, and although their friends procured a remission of the sentence from the king, they were, notwithstanding, both beheaded at the market-cross of Edinburgh. Harthill suffered on the twenty-sixth of October, 1647, and Newton-Gordon a few days thereafter.

While the hopes of the Royalists, both in England and Scotland, seemed to be almost extinguished, a ray of light, about this time, darted through the dark gloom of the political horizon, which they fondly imagined was the harbinger of a new and a better order of things; but all their expectations were destined to end in bitter disappointment. The king, who had hitherto alternately intrigued with the Presbyterians and Independents, that he might circumvent both, was now induced by the Scots commissioners, who had repaired to Carisbrook castle, to break with the Independents, by refusing the royal assent to four bills,[7] which the two Houses of Parliament had prepared; and to enter into a treaty with the Presbyterians, by which the king agreed to the establishment of Presbyterianism, but only as an experiment for three years. Although the terms of this treaty were more favourable to the king than those in the bills which he rejected, his friends were sorry that his Majesty had refused to accede to the latter, as they had no confidence in those with whom he had contracted. But the treaty was not less disagreeable to his Majesty's friends than to his bitterest enemies, for no sooner had the Committee of the Kirk received notice of it than they remonstrated against it; and when the Scots Parliament met in March, 1648, the ministers, Douglas, Dick, Blair, Cant, Livingston, and Gillespie, and the laird of Dundas, Sir James Stewart and George

Winram, ruling elders, presented a declaration against the treaty, which they considered destructive of the Covenant. Notwithstanding the opposition on the part of the Kirk, and of Argyle and his party, and the money and intrigues of the English commissioners who had been sent to Scotland to watch the proceedings of the king's party, the Duke of Hamilton, who had lately formed an association to release the king from his captivity, which went under the name of the "Engagement," prevailed upon the Parliament to appoint a committee of danger, and to consent to a levy of forty thousand men.

The time seemed propitious for the interests of the king. The bulk of the English population, with the exception of the army, had grown quite dissatisfied with the state of matters, and they now began to perceive, when too late, that they had only exchanged one system of tyranny for one still more insupportable, the despotism of a standing army led by needy and unprincipled adventurers. In short, the people, disgusted by military exactions, and dreading an abolition of the monarchy, sighed for the restoration of the king, as the only means of delivering them from the tyranny under which they groaned. The eyes of the English nation were now directed toward Scotland, and the news of the Scots' levy made them indulge a hope that they would soon be enabled, by the aid of the Scots auxiliaries, to throw off the military yoke, and restore the king on conditions favourable to liberty. But Hamilton, being thwarted by the Argyle faction, unfortunately had it not in his power to take advantage of the favourable disposition of the English people, and instead of raising forty thousand men, he found, to his great mortification, that, at the utmost, he could, after upwards of three months' labour, only bring about fifteen thousand men

into the field, and that not until several insurrections in England, in favour of the king, had been suppressed.

It was the misfortune of Hamilton that with every disposition to serve the cause of his royal master, he had neither the capacity to conceive, nor the resolution to adopt bold and decisive measures equal to the emergency of the times. Like the king, he too attempted to act the part of the cunning politician, but he was wholly unfitted for the performance of such a character. Had he had the address to separate old Leslie and his nephew from the party of Argyle, by placing the direction of military affairs in their hands, he might have succeeded in raising a sufficient force to cope with the Parliamentary army of England; but he had the weakness, after both these generals had joined the Kirk in its remonstrance to the Parliament that nothing should be done without the consent of the Committee of the General Assembly, to get himself appointed commander-in-chief of the army, a measure which could not fail to disgust these hardy veterans. To conciliate the Marquis of Argyle and his friends to the appointment, they were made colonels in the shires where they lived for the purpose of raising the levies which had been voted. Instead, however, of assisting, they, on their return home, did everything in their power to obstruct the levies. The Marquis of Argyle, after despatching Major Strachan on a private embassy to Cromwell to send a party to Scotland to assist him in opposing the measures of the duke, went from Edinburgh to Fife, where he induced the gentry not only to oppose the levies, but to hold themselves in readiness to rise on the other side when called upon. He was not so successful in Stirlingshire, none of the gentlemen of that country concurring in his views except the laird of Buchanan, Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse, and a few persons of inferior note;

but in Dumbartonshire he succeeded to the utmost of his wishes. After attending a meeting with the lord chancellor (Loudon), the Earls of Cassillis and Eglinton, and David Dick and other ministers, at Eglinton's house, on the twenty-ninth of May, Argyle went home to his own country to raise his people against his sovereign.

Several instances of opposition to the levy took place; but the most formidable one, and the only one worthy of notice, was in Ayrshire, where a body of armed insurgents, to the number of eight hundred horse and twelve hundred foot according to one writer, and five hundred horse and two thousand foot according to another, headed by several ministers, assembled at Mauchline; but they were defeated and dispersed by Middleton, who had been appointed lieutenant-general of horse, on the tenth of June, with the loss of eighty men.

There are no data by which to ascertain the number of men raised in the Highlands for Hamilton's army; but it must necessarily have been very inconsiderable. Not a single man was of course raised in Argyleshire, and scarcely any in the adjoining part of Inverness-shire, to which the influence or power of Argyle extended. The Earl of Sutherland, who had been appointed a colonel of foot in his own division, declined the office, and Lord Reay was so disgusted with "Duke Hamilton's failure," that he took shipping at Thurso in the month of July that year, and went to Norway, where he was appointed governor of Bergen, and received the colonelcy of a regiment from the King of Denmark, whom he had formerly served. The only individual who could have benefited the royal cause in the north was the Marquis of Huntly, but by a strange fatality the Duke of Hamilton, who could have easily procured an order from the Parliament for his liberation from prison, allowed him to continue in prison, and merely contented himself

with obtaining a warrant for changing the marquis's place of confinement from the jail to the castle of Edinburgh.

In consequence of the many difficulties which occurred in collecting his troops, and providing the necessary *matériel* for the use of the army, the duke was not able to begin his march till the eighth of July, on which day he put his army in motion toward the borders. His force, which amounted to about ten thousand foot and four thousand horse, was composed of raw and undisciplined levies, and he had not a single field-piece. He entered England by the western border, where he was met by Sir Marmaduke Langdale and a body of four thousand brave Cavaliers, all devotedly attached to the king. At this time Lambert, the Parliamentary general, had invested Carlisle, and Hamilton was induced by the English Royalists, contrary to his own views, to march upon Carlisle, and force Lambert to raise the siege. That general, who had received orders from Cromwell not to engage the Scots till he should join him, accordingly retired, and Carlisle was delivered up next day to Hamilton by the English Royalists, who also put him in possession of Berwick.

With the forces now at his command, which were still further augmented by the addition of a body of three thousand veterans, drawn from the Scottish army in Ireland, which joined him at Kendal under the command of Major-General Sir George Munro, the duke might have effected the restoration of the king had a combined plan of operations been agreed upon between him and his English allies; "but Hamilton, though possessed of personal courage, was diffident of his own powers, and resigned himself to the guidance of men who sacrificed the interests of the service to their private jealousies and feuds." So controlled was the duke by these men,

that he was not allowed to benefit by the advice of his English auxiliaries, and when they advised him to march through Yorkshire, the inhabitants of which were well affected to the king, the duke, to gratify the Presbyterians, rejected their advice, and resolved to march through Lancashire, because the people there were generally attached to Presbyterianism. To please them still further he would not allow the English Royalists to unite with the Scots army, for fear of infringing an absurd law, which required that the allies of the Scots should take the Covenant before being permitted to mix with them. The consequence was, that the two sections of the Royalist army were kept so distinct and isolated, and at such an interval of space, that it became utterly impossible for them to co-operate or to act simultaneously. But, bad as the order of march was by which Langdale's forces were kept at an advance of twenty, and even sometimes of thirty miles ahead of the Scots army, it was rendered still worse by a difference between Munro and Callander, in consequence of which Munro was ordered to remain behind in Westmoreland to bring forward, according to Bishop Guthry, five pieces of cannon which were expected from Scotland.

The advance of Hamilton's army had been greatly checked by Lambert, who kept constantly skirmishing with the advanced guard of the Scots army with a large body of horse, and so slow were his motions, that forty days were spent in a march of eighty miles. The tardiness of the duke's motions enabled Cromwell, after reducing Pembroke, to effect a junction with Lambert in Yorkshire before the Scottish army had reached Preston, and although their united forces did not exceed nine thousand men, Cromwell, with characteristic promptitude, did not hesitate to attack the enemy. Cromwell, being observed to march upon Clithero, where Lang-

dale and his Cavaliers were stationed, that officer fell back on the Scottish army near Preston, and sent notice to the duke to prepare for battle on the following day. The duke, however, disregarded the admonition. On the following morning, being the seventeenth of August, Cromwell attacked Langdale, and, although the forces of the former were almost twice as numerous as those of the latter, the Royalists fought upwards of six hours with the most determined bravery, and it was not until their whole ammunition was spent, and the duke had, notwithstanding the most urgent solicitations from Langdale, declined to support them, that they were obliged to retreat into Preston. Here they were mortified to find that their allies had abandoned the town, and that the enemy were in possession of the bridge across the river. Langdale, having now no alternative but flight, disbanded his infantry, and along with his cavalry and the duke, who, refusing to follow the example of his army, had remained in the town, swam across the Ribble.

The Scots army retired during the night toward Wigan, where it was joined by the duke next morning, but so reduced in spirits and weakened by desertion as to be quite unable to make any resistance to the victorious troops of Cromwell, who pressed hard upon them. The foot, under the command of Baillie, continued to retreat during the day, but were overtaken at Warrington, and, being unable either to proceed or to resist, surrendered. The number which capitulated amounted to about three thousand. Upwards of six thousand had previously been captured by the country people, and the few who had the good fortune to escape joined Munro and returned to Scotland. These prisoners were sold as slaves, and sent to the plantations, — a striking instance of the horrors of civil war.

The duke, abandoning Baillie to his fate, carried off the whole cavalry; but he had not proceeded far when his rear was attacked by the Parliamentary army. Middleton made a gallant defence, and was taken prisoner; but the duke escaped, and fled to Uttoxeter, followed by his horse, where he surrendered himself to General Lambert and the Lord Grey of Groby, who sent him prisoner to Windsor. The Earl of Callander, having effected his escape, went over to Holland, disgusted at the conduct of the duke.

As soon as the news of the defeat of Hamilton reached Scotland, the Covenanters of the west began to bestir themselves, and a party of them, under the command of Robert Montgomery, son of the Earl of Eglinton, attacked a troop of Lanark's horse, quartered in Ayrshire, killed some and routed the rest. The Committee of Estates, apprehensive that the spirit of insurrection would speedily spread, immediately ordered out all the fencible men in the kingdom to put down the rising in the west. A difference, however, arose in the committee in the choice of a commander. The Earl of Lanark and the earl marshal were proposed by their respective friends. His chief opponent was the Earl of Roxburghe, who (says Wishart), "in a grave and modest speech, earnestly entreated him, for the sake of their dear sovereign and their distressed country, not to insist in demanding that dignity, which was extremely unseasonable and ill-judged at that time. He told him, that, even before the late defeat, many were much offended at the expedition into England, and reckoned that it presaged no good, chiefly because his brother, the duke, was appointed general; whose fidelity in the management of the king's affairs not a few suspected, though he believed without any good ground; however, it could not be denied that he had always

been unfortunate; and people's judgments, with respect to the conduct or misconduct of generals, are known to depend in a great measure, though indeed wrongously, upon their success. Though, for his own part, he said, he was ready to ascribe the loss of that gallant army under his brother, which was attended with such a disgrace to the nation, to the cowardice of others, or to inevitable misfortunes; yet it was sufficiently known, that most of the populace, whose good affections ought by all means to be obtained in this critical juncture, spoke and thought very differently concerning that affair from what it was proper for him to do. And if the Earl of Lanark should succeed his brother, the duke, in that station, as they were already highly inflamed and exasperated, they would immediately exclaim, that the king and country were now utterly undone; that both the brothers were of the same mind; that they were swayed by the same motives; that they pursued the same courses; and all their enterprises would undoubtedly terminate in the same unlucky manner; that we wanted not many other persons of quality, wise and brave men, and proper for action, whose ancestors have had the command of the king's armies, and in that post acquired no small honour and renown. It was, therefore, his opinion, that some of these should be invited, even against their own inclinations, to take upon them the command of the army; and, if it pleased the honourable meeting, he thought the first offer ought to be made to the earl marshal, whose family may be ranked among the first of Scotland, as having often distinguished itself by its loyalty and bravery; one who has a plentiful estate, in the flower of his age, not in the least suspected of faction and disloyalty; and, which is of itself no small recommendation in the present case, one who is not courting this preferment." This signifi-

cant speech had no effect upon Lanark, who, on a vote being taken, was found to have the majority, and so anxious was he to obtain the command of the army that he actually voted for himself. He had even the indiscretion to declare, that he would not permit any other person to command in his brother's absence. This rash and imprudent behaviour on the part of Lanark so exasperated Roxburghe and his friends, who justly dreaded the utter ruin of the king's affairs, that they henceforth withdrew altogether from public affairs.

As soon as Lanark had been appointed to the command of the new levy, he set about raising it with great expedition. For this purpose he sent circulars, plausibly written, to every part of Scotland, calling upon all classes to join him without delay. These circulars had the desired effect. The people beyond the Forth, and even the men of Fife, showed a disposition to obey the call. The Earl of Seaforth raised four thousand men in the Western Islands and in Rossshire, which he brought south, and the Earl of Morton also brought into Lothian twelve hundred men from the Orkneys. In short, with the exception of Argyle, there were few places in Scotland from which considerable bodies of men might not have been expected.

Before the defeat of Hamilton's army, Lanark had raised three regiments of horse, which were now under his command. These, with the accessions of force which were daily arriving from different parts of the kingdom, were quite sufficient to have put down the insurrection in the west; but instead of marching thither, Lanark, to the surprise of every person, proceeded through East Lothian toward the eastern borders to meet Sir George Munro, who was retiring upon Berwick before the army of Cromwell. The people of the west, being thus relieved

from the apprehensions of a visit, assembled in great numbers, and taking advantage of Lanark's absence, a body of them, to the number of no less than six thousand men, headed by the chancellor, the Earl of Eglinton, and some ministers, advanced upon the capital, which they entered without opposition, the magistrates and ministers of the city welcoming their approach by going out to meet them. Bishop Wishart describes this body as "a confused rabble, composed of farmers, cowherds, shepherds, cobblers, and such like mob, without arms, and without courage," and says that when they arrived in Edinburgh, "they were provided with arms, which, as they were unaccustomed to, were rather a burden and encumbrance than of any use;" that "they were mounted upon horses, or jades rather, which had been long used to the drudgery of labour, equipped with pack saddles and halters, in place of saddles and bridles." This tumultuary body, however, was soon put into proper order by the Earl of Leven, who was invested with the chief command, and by David Leslie, as his lieutenant-general, and presented a rather formidable appearance, for on Lanark's return from the south, he did not venture to engage it, though his force amounted to four or five thousand horse and as many foot, many of whom were veterans who had served in Ireland under Munro.

In thus declining, however, to attack Leslie, Lanark acted contrary to the advice of Munro and his other officers. According to Doctor Wishart, Lanark's advanced guard, on arriving at Musselburgh, fell in with some of Leslie's outposts, who defended the bridge over the Esk, and Lanark's advanced guard, though inferior in number, immediately put them in great disorder, and killed some of them without sustaining any loss. This success was reported to Lanark, and it

was represented to him, that by following it up immediately, while the enemy continued in the state of alarm into which this affair of outposts had thrown them, he might, perhaps, obtain a bloodless victory, and secure possession of the city of Edinburgh and the town of Leith, with all the warlike stores, before sunset. "And indeed," says Wishart, "nobody doubted that, had he complied with this advice, Scotland might have been totally recovered and reduced to the king's obedience. But in place of that, he refused to fight, and immediately ordered his troops, who had been hitherto victorious, to be called back, and, leaving the highway which leads to Edinburgh, marched off to the left. Both officers and soldiers, surprised at this unexpected course, began first to murmur, and soon after to exclaim aloud against him for losing this opportunity which, had it been embraced, might very soon have put a period to the war in Scotland."

Leading his army along the base of the Pentland hills, Lanark proceeded to Linlithgow, which he entered on the evening of the eleventh of September, where he almost surprised the Earl of Cassillis, who, at the head of eight hundred horse from Carrick and Galloway, had taken up his quarters there for the night; but a notice having been sent to him of the Earl of Lanark's approach by some friend, he fled precipitately to the Queensferry, leaving the supper which was cooking for him and his men on the fire, which repast was greedily devoured by Lanark's troops.

Ever since Lanark's march to the borders to meet Munro, the Marquis of Argyle had been busily employed in raising men in his own territory to assist the insurgents, but it had been so much depopulated by the ravages of Montrose and Macdonald, that he could scarcely muster three hundred men. With these and

four hundred more which he had collected in the Lennox and in the western part of Stirlingshire, he advanced to Stirling, which he entered upon the twelfth of September at eleven o'clock, forenoon. After assigning to the troops their different posts in the town, and making arrangements with the magistrates for their support, Argyle went to dine with the Earl of Mar at his residence in the town. But while the dinner was serving up, Argyle, to his infinite alarm, heard that a part of Lanark's forces had entered the town. This was the advanced guard, commanded by Sir George Munro, who, on hearing that Argyle was in possession of the town when only within two miles of it, had, unknown to Lanark, who was behind with the main body of the army, pushed forward and entered the town before Argyle's men were aware of his approach. Argyle, as usual, looked only to his own personal safety, and, therefore, immediately mounting his horse, galloped across Stirling bridge, and never looked behind till he reached the North Queensferry, where he instantly crossed the Frith in a small boat and proceeded to Edinburgh. Nearly two hundred of Argyle's men were either killed or drowned, and the remainder were taken prisoners.

The levies under the Earl of Leven, having been reinforced by some additional men from Fife and the southern shires, that general left Edinburgh in pursuit of Lanark, and arrived at Falkirk on the night of the twelfth of September. On intelligence being brought of Leslie's arrival, Munro proposed to Lanark and his friends, the Earls of Lindsay and Glencairn, to attack Leslie next morning; but Munro's proposition was overruled, and instead of thanking him for the promptitude which he had displayed in capturing Stirling, they expressed disapprobation of his conduct, and Lindsay,

not being able to conceal the sorrow he felt at the occurrence, exclaimed: "Woes me! that I should ever have seen this unlucky and mischievous day!" The fact appears to be, that this triumvirate, who concealed all their plans from the open and unsuspecting soldier, had already thought of a treaty with the enemy, and they were afraid lest the unlucky occurrence of the day might so exasperate the parties "as to cut off all hope or inclination for the peace which they had projected." Although Lanark and his committee had negatived Munro's proposal, yet being suspicious that he might himself attack Leslie, they sent all the horse across Stirling bridge, with instructions to quarter them along the north shore of the Frith of Forth, as far down as Burntisland. A negotiation for peace immediately ensued between the two parties, and on the fifteenth of September a treaty was entered into by which the Hamilton party agreed to refer all civil matters in dispute to a Parliament, to be held before the tenth of January, and all ecclesiastical affairs to an Assembly of the Kirk. It was also stipulated that both armies should be disbanded before the twenty-ninth of September, or at farthest on the fifth of October, that the adherents of the king should not be disturbed, and that all the prisoners taken in Scotland should be released. Munro, perceiving that the king's affairs would be irretrievably ruined by this compromise, objected to the treaty, and would have stood out had he been backed by the other officers; but very few seconding his views, he addressed the troops, who had accompanied him from Ireland, in St. Ninian's church, and offered to lead back such as were inclined to Ireland, to serve under their old commander, Major-General Robert Munro; but having received intelligence at Glasgow that that general had been taken prisoner and sent

to London, he disbanded the troops who had followed him thither, and retired to Holland.

According to the treaty the two armies were disbanded on the appointed day, and the "Whigamores," as the insurgents from the west were called, returned immediately home to cut down their corn, which was ready for the sickle. Argyle's men, who had been taken prisoners at Stirling, were set at liberty, and conducted home to their own country by one of Argyle's officers.

The Marquis of Argyle, Loudon, the chancellor, and the Earls of Cassillis and Eglington, and others now met at Edinburgh, and formed themselves into a body under the title of the Committee of Estates, and having arranged matters for the better securing their own influence, they summoned a Parliament to meet on the fourth of January. In the meantime, Oliver Cromwell, who, after the pursuit of Munro, had laid siege to Berwick, was waited upon by Argyle, Lord Elcho, and Sir Charles Erskine, to compliment him upon his success at Preston, and after making Ludovick Leslie deliver up Berwick to him, they invited him and Lambert to Edinburgh. Cromwell took up his residence in the house of Lady Home in the Canongate, where he received frequent visits from Argyle, Loudon, the Earl of Lothian, the Lords Arbuthnot, Elcho, and Burleigh, and the most noted of the ministers. It is said that, during these conferences, Cromwell communicated to his visitors his intentions with respect to the king, and obtained their consent.

About this time a violent struggle took place in the English Parliament between the Presbyterians and Independents about the late seizure of the king by the army. A treaty had been entered into between the king and fifteen commissioners from the Parliament at Newport, in the month of September, contrary to the

wishes of the Independents, whose designs upon the life of the king they were apprehensive it would frustrate. Colonel Ludlow, a fanatical member of the lower House, thinking that the death of Charles was absolutely necessary to appease the anger of God, first attempted to draw over Fairfax to his opinion, but having failed, he tampered with Ireton, another commander in the Parliamentary army, and having succeeded, Ireton made his regiment petition the commander-in-chief, that all who were concerned in the late rebellion, whether high or low, without any distinction, should be punished according to their just deserts, "and that whosoever should speak or act in favour of the king, before he had been acquitted of shedding innocent blood, should incur the penalties of treason." This petition, which was put forth as a mere feeler to sound the dispositions of the army, was quickly followed by a petition from another regiment, couched in stronger and more intelligible language, and which demanded that the king and his advisers should be brought to justice; and condemned the treaty entered into with him as dangerous and unjust. These petitions were laid before a council of war, and the result was, that the officers assembled issued a remonstrance addressed to the House of Commons, requiring, *inter alia*, that "the capital and grand author of all the troubles and woes which the kingdom had endured should be speedily brought to justice for the treason, blood, and mischief of which he had been guilty." The remonstrance was supported by the Independents, but the Presbyterians prevailed by a large majority in postponing consideration of the remonstrance till a distant day, and instructed the commissioners at Newport to bring the treaty with the king to a speedy conclusion.

Thus, disappointed in their views for the time, the

Independents prevailed upon Fairfax to order Hammond, the governor of the Isle of Wight, to attend him at Windsor, and to send Colonel Eure with orders to seize the king at Newport, where he was conferring with the commissioners, and imprison him again in Carisbrook castle; but Hammond, having declined to allow Eure to interfere without an order from the Parliament, Eure left the island without attempting to fulfil his instructions. Hammond, however, afterward left the island with the commissioners, and committed the royal person to the custody of one Major Rolfe, a person who, only six months before, had been charged with a design on the life of the king, and who had escaped trial because only one witness had attested the fact before the grand jury.

The king seemed to be fully aware of the danger of his present situation, and on the morning of the twenty-eighth of November, when the commissioners left the island, he gave vent to his feelings in a strain of the most pathetic emotion, which drew tears from his attendants: "My lords," said he to the commissioners, "I believe we shall scarce ever see each other again, but God's will be done! I have made my peace with Him, and shall undergo without fear whatever He may suffer men to do to me. My lords, you cannot but know, that in my fall and ruin you see your own, and that also near you. I pray God send you better friends than I have found. I am fully informed of the carriage of those who plot against me and mine; but nothing affects me so much as the feeling I have of the sufferings of my subjects, and the mischief that hangs over my three kingdoms, drawn upon them by those who, upon pretences of good, violently pursue their own interests and ends." As soon as the commissioners and Hammond had quitted the island, Fairfax sent a troop of horse and

a company of foot, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbett, to seize the king, who received notice of the approach of this body and of its object next morning from a person in disguise; but although advised by the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Lindsay, and Colonel Coke to make his escape, which he could easily have accomplished, he declined to do so, because he considered himself bound in honour to remain twenty days after the treaty. The consequence was, that Charles was taken prisoner by Cobbett, and carried to Hurst castle.

The army having now got the king completely in their power, the council of officers issued a threatening declaration against the House of Commons, and to support their pretensions to provide for the settlement of the kingdom and to punish the guilty, Fairfax quartered several regiments in London and the neighbourhood. This bold measure immediately brought the army and the Presbyterian members of the House of Commons, who were still the majority, into collision. Instead of being overawed by the army, as they had been in the year 1646, the Presbyterians protested against the seizure of the royal person, and carried by a large majority, after an animated debate which lasted, by adjournment, three days and a whole night, a resolution approving of the treaty of Newport. The firmness thus displayed by the Presbyterian party was not to be endured by the army, which had now everything in its power, and, accordingly, a resolution was taken by the officers to arrest the leading members, which was immediately carried into effect by the celebrated Colonel Pride. Many members of the Presbyterian party, seeing their friends thus illegally placed in confinement, retired into the country, and a "rump" only of about fifty members remained.

The person, who was to act the principal part in the bloody tragedy which soon followed, was on his way home from Scotland during these proceedings, and arrived in London the day after the House of Commons had been finally purged by Pride. Cromwell had now obtained the complete ascendency in the army, and he perceived that the time had arrived for carrying his design upon the life of the king into execution. Accordingly, after the purified House of Commons had passed a vote declaring that it was high treason in the King of England, for the time being, to levy war against the Parliament and kingdom of England, his Majesty was brought to trial before a tribunal erected *pro re nata* by the House, called the High Court of Justice, which adjudged him "as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of the nation, to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body," a sentence which was carried into execution, in front of Whitehall, on the thirtieth of January, 1649. The unfortunate monarch conducted himself throughout the whole of these melancholy proceedings with becoming dignity, and braved the terrors of death with the utmost fortitude and resignation.[8]

The Duke of Hamilton, who, by his incapacity, had ruined the king's affairs when on the point of being retrieved, was not destined long to survive his royal master. In violation of the articles of his capitulation, he was brought to trial, and although he pleaded that he acted under the orders of the Scottish Parliament, and was not amenable to an English tribunal, he was, under the pretence that he was Earl of Cambridge in England, sentenced to be beheaded. He suffered on the ninth of March.

The Marquis of Huntly had languished in prison since December, 1647, and during the life of the king the

Scottish Parliament had not ventured to bring him to the block; but both the king and Hamilton, his favourite, being now put out of the way, they felt themselves no longer under restraint, and accordingly the Parliament, on the sixteenth of March, ordained the marquis to be beheaded, at the market-cross of Edinburgh, on the twenty-second day of that month. As he lay under sentence of ecclesiastical excommunication, one of the "bloody ministers," says the author of the "History of the Family of Gordon," "asked him, when brought upon the scaffold, if he desired to be absolved from the sentence;" to which the marquis replied, "that as he was not accustomed to give ear to false prophets, he did not wish to be troubled by him." And thereupon turning "towards the people, he told them that he was going to die for having employed some years of his life in the service of the king, his master; that he was sorry he was not the first of his Majesty's subjects who had suffered for his cause, so glorious in itself that it sweetened to him all the bitterness of death." He then declared that he had charity to forgive those who had voted for his death, although he could not admit that he had done anything contrary to the laws. After throwing off his doublet, he offered up a prayer, and then embracing some friends around him, he submitted his neck, without any symptoms of emotion, to the fatal instrument.

CHAPTER IV

EXECUTION OF MONTROSE

While the dominant party in England were contemplating the erection of a commonwealth upon the ruins of the monarchy they had just overthrown, the faction in Scotland, with Argyle at its head, which had usurped the reins of government in that country, in obedience to the known wish of the nation, resolved to recognize the principle of legitimacy by acknowledging the Prince of Wales as successor to the crown of Scotland. No sooner, therefore, had the intelligence of the execution of the king reached Edinburgh, than the usual preparations were made for proclaiming Charles the Second, a ceremony which was performed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, on the fifth day of February, with the usual formalities.

This proceeding was contrary to the policy of Argyle, whose intentions were in exact accordance with those of the English Independents; but, as the melancholy fate of the king had excited a feeling of indignation in the Scottish nation, he was afraid to imitate the example of his English friends, and with his usual subtlety and flexibility, dissembled his views, and adopted other measures without changing his object. As he could not venture in the present disposition of the nation upon the bold step of excluding the son of the king from the crown, he fell upon the device of embroiling them on the subject of religion, than which the perverted ingenuity of man could not have invented one more likely to become

a source of discord, and to estrange a nation, wrought up, at that time, to the highest pitch of religious enthusiasm, from the sovereign. With this view, Argyle, under the specious pretext of securing the religious, and along therewith the civil liberties of the people, but in reality to secure his own power, prevailed upon his creatures in Parliament to propose certain conditions to the prince as the terms on which alone he should be entitled to sway the sceptre of his father. These were, in substance: First, that he should sign the covenants, and endeavour to establish them by his authority in all his dominions; secondly, that he should ratify and confirm all the acts of the Estates, approving of the two covenants, the directory, confession of faith, and the catechism, that he should renounce Episcopacy and adopt the Presbyterian form of worship; thirdly, that in all civil matters he should submit to the Parliament, and in things ecclesiastical to the authority of the General Assembly; and, lastly, that he should remove from his person and court the Marquis of Montrose, "a person excommunicated by the church, and forfaulted by the Parliament of Scotland, being a man most justly, if ever any, cast out of the church of God."

These conditions, so flattering to popular prejudice and the prevailing ideas of the times, were proposed only because Argyle thought they would be rejected by the youthful monarch, surrounded as he then was by counsellors to whom these terms would be particularly obnoxious. To carry these propositions to Charles II, then at The Hague, seven commissioners from the Parliament and Kirk were appointed, who set sail from Kirkaldy Roads on the seventeenth of March. These commissioners arrived at The Hague on the twenty-sixth. His court, which at first consisted of the few persons whom his father had placed about him, had been

lately increased by the arrival of the Earl of Lanark, now become, by the death of his brother, Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Lauderdale and Callander, the heads of the Engagers; and by the subsequent addition of Montrose, Kinnoul, and Seaforth. The following graphic sketch is given by Doctor Wishart of the appearance and reception of the commissioners: "When these commissioners, or deputies from the Estates were admitted to their first audience of the king, their solemn gait, their grave dress, and dejected countenances had all the appearance imaginable of humility; and many who were not acquainted with the temper and practices of the men, from thence concluded that they were about to implore of his Majesty a general oblivion and pardon for what was past, and to promise a perfect obedience and submission in time coming; and that they were ready to yield everything that was just and reasonable, and would be sincere in all their proposals of peace and accommodation. They acted in a double capacity, and had instructions both from the Estates and from the Commission of the Kirk, in both of which the Earl of Cassillis was the chief person, not only in what they were charged with from the Estates, as being a nobleman, but also from the Commission of the Kirk, of which he was a ruling elder. Their address to the king was introduced with abundance of deep sighs and heavy groans, as if they had been labouring, as Virgil says of the Sybil, to shake the ponderous load from off their breasts, after which they at last exhibited their papers, containing the ordinances of the Estates, and acts of the Commission of the Kirk, and pretended that the terms demanded in them were moderate, just, and reasonable, and absolutely necessary for settling the present confusions, and restoring the king; with which, if he complied, he would be immediately settled upon his

father's throne by the unanimous consent of the people."

The king endeavoured to induce the commissioners to modify the conditions to which his acceptance was required, and to declare publicly their opinions of the murder of his father, to which they had made no allusion; but they replied that they could not alter these conditions without new instructions to that effect from the Parliament, "that their demands were not only just and honourable, but absolutely necessary, as being founded upon the Holy Scriptures, and of divine institution." As they could not approve of the death of the king in presence of his son, and as a contrary declaration would have exasperated Cromwell and his party, they cautiously evaded that topic altogether. The counsellors of the young king were divided in opinion as to the course he should pursue. The engagement party advised his Majesty to accept the proposed conditions, but Montrose and his friends thought otherwise, and counselled him to vindicate his rights by an appeal to arms, as the demands of the commissioners, in their judgment, were contrary to conscience and honour. The latter advice, being congenial to the dispositions of the king, was adopted by him, and the commissioners, therefore, received a final answer from the king, on the nineteenth of May, declining to agree to the terms proposed, and stating, that as he had been already proclaimed King of Scotland by the Committee of Estates, it was their duty to obey him, and that he should expect the Committee of Estates, the Assembly of the Kirk, and the nation at large, to perform their duty to him, humbly obeying, maintaining, and defending him as their lawful sovereign. The commissioners thereupon returned to Scotland, and Charles went to St. Germains in France, to visit Queen Henrietta Maria, his mother,

before going to Ireland, whither he had been invited by the Marquis of Ormond to join the Royalist army.

During the captivity of Charles I, Montrose used every exertion at the court of France to raise money and men to enable him to make a descent upon the coast of England or Scotland, to rescue his sovereign from confinement; but his endeavours proving ineffectual, he entered into the service of the Emperor of Germany, who honoured him with especial marks of his esteem. He had been lately residing at Brussels, engaged in the affairs of the emperor, where he received letters from the Prince of Wales, then at The Hague, requiring his attendance to consult on the state of his father's affairs; but before he set out for The Hague, he received the news of the death of Charles I. He was so overwhelmed with grief at this intelligence, that according to Bishop Wishart, who was an eye-witness, he fainted and fell down in the midst of his attendants, and appeared for some time as if quite dead. When he had sufficiently recovered to give full vent to his feelings, he expressed a desire to die with his sovereign, as he could no longer enjoy, as he said, a life which had now become a grievous and heavy burden; but on Wishart remonstrating with him upon the impropriety of entertaining such a sentiment, and informing him that he should be rather more desirous of life that he might avenge the death of his royal master, and place his son and lawful successor upon the throne of his ancestors, Montrose replied with composure, that in that view he should be satisfied to live; "but," continued he, "I swear before God, angels, and men, that I will dedicate the remainder of my life to the avenging the death of the royal martyr, and re-establishing his son upon his father's throne." To indulge his grief, Montrose shut himself up in a very retired apartment, in which he continued two days,

without seeing or speaking to any person, during which time he composed the stanzas which have been before inserted.

On arriving at The Hague, Montrose was received by Charles II with marked distinction. After some consultation, a descent upon Scotland was resolved upon, and Montrose, thereupon, received a commission, appointing him lieutenant-governor of Scotland, and commander-in-chief of all the forces there both by sea and land. The king also appointed him his ambassador to the emperor, the princes of Germany, the King of Denmark, and other friendly sovereigns, to solicit supplies of money, and warlike stores, to enable him to commence the war; and gave him full authority to enter into treaties to secure his object. Thus, before the commissioners had arrived, the king had made up his mind as to the course he should pursue, and being backed by the opinion of a man of such an ardent temperament as Montrose, the result of the communing between the king and the commissioners was as might have been expected.

Connected probably with Montrose's plan of a descent, a rising took place in the north under Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardin, brother of the Earl of Seaforth, Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, Colonel John Munro of Lumlair, and Colonel Hugh Fraser, who, at the head of a number of their friends and followers, entered the town of Inverness, on the twenty-second day of February, expelled the troops from the garrison, and demolished and razed the walls and fortifications of the town. The pretence set up by Mackenzie and his friends was, that the Parliament had sent private commissioners to apprehend them, but the fact appears to be, that this insurrection had taken place at the instigation of the king, between whom and Pluscardin a correspondence

had been previously opened. General David Leslie was sent to the north with a force to suppress the insurgents, who, on his approach, fled to the mountains of Ross; but he was soon obliged to retrace his steps, in consequence of a rising in Athole under the direction of Lord Ogilvy, General Middleton, and others, in favour of the king. Leslie had previously made terms with Urquhart, Munro, and Fraser, but as Mackenzie would not listen to any accommodation, he left behind him a garrison in the castle of Chanory, and also three troops of horse in Moray under the charge of Colonel Gilbert Ker, and Lieutenant-Colonels Hacket and Strachan, to watch Pluscardin's motions. But this force was quite insufficient to resist Pluscardin, who, on the departure of Leslie, descended from the mountains and attacked the castle of Chanory, which he re-took. He was thereupon joined by his nephew, Lord Reay, at the head of three hundred well-armed able-bodied men, which increased his force to between eight and nine hundred.

Having suppressed the rising in Athole, Leslie was again sent north by the Parliament, accompanied by the Earl of Sutherland; but he had not proceeded far, when he ascertained that Mackenzie had been induced by Lord Ogilvy and General Middleton, who had lately joined him, to advance southward into Badenoch, with the view of raising the people in that and the neighbouring districts, and that they had been there joined by the young Marquis of Huntly, formerly Lord Lewis Gordon, and had taken the castle of Ruthven. Leslie therefore divided his army, with one part of which he himself entered Badenoch, while he despatched the Earl of Sutherland to the north to collect forces in Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, with another part, consisting of five troops of horse, under the command of Ker, Hacket, and Strachan, to prevent the Royalists from

again taking shelter in Ross. To hinder them also from retiring into Athole, Leslie marched southward toward Glenesk, by which movement he compelled them to leave Badenoch and to march down Spey side toward Balveny. On arriving at Balveny, they resolved to enter into a negotiation with Leslie, and accordingly Pluscardin and Middleton left Balveny with a troop of horse to meet Leslie, leaving Huntly, Reay, and Ogilvy in charge of the forces, the former of whom sent his brother, Lord Charles Gordon, to the Enzie, to raise some horse.

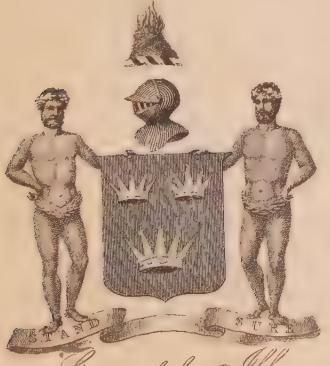
While waiting for the return of Pluscardin and Middleton, the party at Balveny had not the most distant idea of being taken by surprise; but on the eighth of May at break of day, they were most unexpectedly attacked by the horse which had been sent north with the Earl of Sutherland, and which, returning from Ross, had speedily crossed the Spey, and seizing the Royalist sentinels, surprised Lord Reay at the castle of Balveny, where he and about nine hundred foot were taken prisoners and about eighty killed. Huntly and Ogilvy, who had their quarters at the church of Mortlach, about a mile from Balveny castle, escaped. Colonel Ker at once dismissed all the prisoners to their own homes on giving their oaths not to take up arms against the Parliament in time coming. He sent Lord Reay along with some of his kinsmen and friends and Mackenzie of Redcastle and other prisoners of his surname to Edinburgh; all of whom were imprisoned in the jail of Edinburgh. Huntly, Ogilvy, Pluscardin and Middleton, on giving security to keep the peace, were forgiven by Leslie and returned to their homes. Colonel Ker afterward returned to Ross, took Redcastle, which he demolished, and hanged the persons who had defended it. Thus ended this premature insurrec-

Murray Duke of Atholl

Duke of Sutherland

Mc Naughton of that Ilk

Munro of Foulis



Grant of that Ilk

Mackintosh of that Ilk

tion, which, had it been delayed till the arrival of Montrose, might have been attended with a very different result.

The projected descent by Montrose upon Scotland was considered by many persons as a desperate measure, which none but those quite reckless of consequences would attempt; but there were others, chiefly among the ultra Royalists, who viewed the affair in a different light, and who, although they considered the enterprise as one not without considerable risk, anticipated its success. Such at least were the sentiments of some of the king's friends before the insurrection under Mackenzie of Pluscardin had been crushed; but it is very probable that these were greatly altered after its suppression. But whatever change may have taken place in the minds of these supporters of royalty when they beheld the whole Scottish nation lying prostrate at the feet of Argyle, the bold and daring spirit of Montrose, raised by recent events to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, still maintained its moral altitude in those visionary regions of earthly greatness in which his vivid imagination delighted to dwell. The failure of Pluscardin's ill-timed attempt was indeed considered by Montrose as a great misfortune, but a misfortune far from irreparable, and as he had invitations from the Royalist nobility of Scotland, requesting him to enter upon his enterprise, and promising him every assistance in their power, and as he was assured that the great body of the Scottish nation was ready to second his views, he entered upon the task assigned him by his new master, with an alacrity and willingness which indicated a confidence on his part of ultimate success.

In terms of the powers he had received from the king, Montrose visited the north of Europe, and obtained promises of assistance of men, money, and ammunition,

from some of the northern princes; but few of them fulfilled their engagements in consequence of the intrigues of the king's enemies with the courtiers, who thwarted with all their influence the measures of Montrose. By the most indefatigable industry and perseverance, however, he collected a force of twelve hundred men at Gottenburg, about eight hundred of whom had been raised in Holstein and Hamburg, and having received from the Queen of Sweden, fifteen hundred complete stands of arms, for arming such persons as might join his standard on landing in Scotland, he resolved, without loss of time, to send off this armament to the Orkneys, where, in consequence of a previous arrangement with the Earl of Morton, who was favourable to the king, it was agreed that a descent should be made. Accordingly, the first division of the expedition, which consisted of three parts, was despatched early in September; but it never reached its destination, the vessels having foundered at sea in a storm. The second division was more fortunate, and arrived at Kirkwall, about the end of the month. It consisted of two hundred common soldiers and eighty officers, under the command of the Earl of Kinnoul, who on landing was joined by his uncle, the Earl of Kinnoul, and by many of the Orkney gentlemen. Kinnoul immediately laid siege to the castle of Birsay, which was soon surrendered to him; and he proceeded to raise levies among the Orcadians, but was checked in his progress in consequence of a difference with Morton, who claimed the privilege, as superior of Orkney, of commanding his own vassals, a claim which Kinnoul would not allow. Morton felt the repulse keenly, and died soon thereafter of a broken heart, as is believed. His nephew, probably hurt at the treatment he had given his uncle, speedily followed him to the grave.

The news of Kinnoul's landing reached Edinburgh about the fourteenth of October, when General David Leslie was despatched to the north with seven or eight troops of horse to watch him if he attempted to cross the Pentland Frith; but seeing no appearance of an enemy, and hearing of intended commotions among the Royalists in Angus and the Mearns, he returned to the south after an absence of fifteen days, having previously placed strong garrisons in some of the northern strengths.

Montrose himself, with the remainder of the expedition, still tarried at Gottenburg, in the expectation of obtaining additional reinforcements or of procuring supplies of arms and money. It appears from a letter which he addressed to the Earl of Seaforth, of the date of fifteenth December, that he intended to sail for Scotland the following day; but owing to various causes he did not leave Gottenburg till about the end of February following. He landed in Orkney in the beginning of March, with a force of five hundred men, accompanied by Lord Frendraught, Major-General Hurry, and other gentlemen who had attached themselves to his service and fortunes.

To prepare the minds of the people of Scotland for the enterprise he was about to undertake, Montrose, about the close of the year, had circulated a "Declaration" in Scotland, as "Lieutenant-Governor and Captain-General for his Majesty of the Kingdom of Scotland," in which, after detailing the proceedings of those whom he termed "an horrid and infamous faction of rebels within the kingdom of Scotland," toward his late Majesty, he declared that his present Majesty was not only willing to pardon every one, with the exception of those who upon clear evidence should be found guilty "of that most damnable fact of murder of his father," provided that immediately or upon the

first convenient occasion they abandoned the rebels and joined him, and, therefore, he expected all persons who had "any duty left them to God, their king, country, friends, homes, wives, children, or would change now at last the tyranny, violence, and oppression of those rebels, with the mild and innocent government of their just prince, or revenge the horrid and execrable murdering of their sacred king, redeem their nation from infamy, restore the present and oblige the ages to come, would join themselves with him in the service he was about to engage."

This declaration which, by order of the Committee of Estates, was publicly burnt at the market-cross of Edinburgh, by the hands of the common hangman, was answered on the second of January, by a "declaration and warning of the commission of the General Assembly," addressed to "all the members of the kirk and kingdom," which was followed on the twenty-fourth of the same month, by another "declaration" from the Committee of Estates of the Parliament of Scotland, in vindication of their proceedings from "the aspersions of a scandalous pamphlet, published by that excommunicate traitor, James Graham, under the title of a 'Declaration of James, Marquis of Montrose.'" The last of these documents vindicates at great length, and apparently with great success, those whom Montrose had designated the "infamous faction of rebels," not because the committee thought "it worth the while to answer the slanders and groundless reproaches of that viperous brood of Satan, James Graham, whom the Estates of Parliament had long since declared traitor, the church delivered into the hands of the devil, and the nation doth generally detest and abhor;" but because "their silence might be subject to misconstruction, and some of the weaker sort might be inveigled by the bold asser-

tions and railing accusations of this impudent braggard, presenting himself to the view of the world clothed with his Majesty's authority, as lieutenant-governor and captain-general of this kingdom." These declarations of the Kirk and Estates, backed as they were by fulminations from all the pulpits of the kingdom against Montrose, made a deep impression on men's minds, which was highly unfavourable to him, and as the Committee of Estates discharged all persons from aiding or assisting him under the pain of high treason, and as every action and word of those considered friendly to him were strictly watched, they did not attempt, and had they attempted, would have found it impossible, to make any preparations to receive him on his arrival.

Such was the situation of matters when Montrose landed in Orkney, where, in consequence of the death of Morton and Kinnoul, little progress had been made in raising troops. He remained several weeks in Orkney, without exciting much notice, and having collected about eight hundred of the natives, which, with the addition of the two hundred troops carried over by Kinnoul, made his whole force amount to about fifteen hundred men, he crossed the Pentland Frith in a number of boats collected among the islands, and landed without opposition at the northern extremity of Caithness, in the immediate vicinity of John o' Groat's house. On landing, he displayed three banners, one of which was made of black taffeta, in the centre of which was exhibited a presentation of the bleeding head of the late king, as struck off from the body, surrounded by two inscriptions, "Judge and avenge my cause O Lord," and "Deo et victricibus armis." Another standard had this motto, "Quos pietas virtus et honor fecit amicus." These two banners were those of the king. The

third, which was Montrose's own, bore the words, "Nil medium," a motto strongly significant of the stern and uncompromising character of the man. Montrose immediately compelled the inhabitants of Caithness to swear obedience to him as the king's lieutenant-governor. All the ministers, with the exception of one named William Smith, took the oath, and to punish Smith for his disobedience, he was sent in irons on board of a vessel. A number of the inhabitants, however, alarmed at the arrival of foreign troops, with whose presence they considered carnage and murder to be associated, were seized with a panic and fled, nor did some of them stop till they reached Edinburgh, where they carried the alarming intelligence of Montrose's advance to the Parliament which was then sitting.

As soon as the Earl of Sutherland heard of Montrose's arrival in Caithness, he assembled all his countrymen to oppose his advance into Sutherland. He sent, at the same time, for two troops of horse stationed in Ross, to assist him, but their officers being in Edinburgh, they refused to obey, as they had received no orders. Being apprised of the earl's movements, and anticipating that he might secure the important pass of the Ord, and thus prevent him from entering Sutherland, Montrose despatched a body of five hundred men to the south, who obtained possession of the pass. The next step Montrose took was against the castle of Dunbeath, belonging to Sir John Sinclair, who, on Montrose's arrival, had fled and left the place in charge of his lady. The castle was strong and well supplied with provisions, and the possession of it was considered very important by Montrose, in case he should be obliged to retreat back into Orkney. The castle, which was defended by Sir John's lady and a few servants, surrendered to General Hurry, after a short resistance, on condition that

persons and property should be respected. Hurry, thereupon, put a strong garrison therein, under the command of Major Whiteford.

Having secured this important strength, Montrose marched into Sutherland, leaving Henry Graham, his natural brother, behind him with a party to raise men for the service. While in Caithness, the only persons that proffered their services to Montrose were Hugh Mackay of Skoury, Hugh Mackay of Dirlet, and Alexander Sinclair of Brims, whom he despatched to Strathnaver, to collect forces, but they appear to have neglected the matter. On the approach of Montrose, the Earl of Sutherland, not conceiving himself in a condition to resist him, retired with his men, and putting strong garrisons into Dunrobin, Skelbo, Skibo, and Dornoch, and sending off a party with cattle and effects to the hills to be out of the reach of the enemy, he went himself into Ross with three hundred of his men. Montrose continued to advance and encamped the first night at Garty and Helmsdale, the second at Kintredwell, and the third night at Rhives. In passing by Dunrobin, a part of his men went between the castle and the sea, some of whom were killed, and others taken prisoners, in a sortie from the garrison. On the following day, Montrose demanded the prisoners from William Gordon, the commander of Dunrobin, but his request was refused. Montrose encamped at Rian in Strathfleet the fourth night, at Gruidy on the fifth, and at Strathoikel on the sixth. He then marched to Carbisdale, on the borders of Ross-shire, where he halted a few days in expectation of being joined by the Mackenzies. While reposing here in fancied security and calculating on complete success, he sent a notification to the Earl of Sutherland to this effect, that though he had spared his lands for the present, yet the time was at hand when he would make

his own neighbours undo him. Little did Montrose then expect that he himself, who had often gratified his revenge, was so soon to be taken captive and suffer an ignominous death!

As soon as intelligence of Montrose's descent was received in Edinburgh, the most active preparations were made to send north troops to meet him. David Leslie, the commander-in-chief, appointed Brechin as the place of rendezvous for the troops; but as a considerable time would necessarily elapse before they could be all collected, and as apprehensions were entertained that Montrose might speedily penetrate into the heart of the Highlands, where he could not fail to find auxiliaries, Lieutenant-Colonel Strachan, an officer who had of late been particularly active in suppressing Pluscardin's insurrection, was despatched, in the meantime, to the north with a few troops of horse, for the purpose of keeping Montrose in check, and enabling the Earl of Sutherland, and the other Presbyterian leaders in the north to raise their levies. These troops, which were those of Ker, Hacket, Montgomery, and Strachan, and an Irish troop commanded by one Collace, were joined by a body of about five hundred foot under the Earl of Sutherland, Ross of Balnagown, and Munro of Lumlair, all of whom were assembled at Tain when Montrose encamped at Strathoikel. This movement brought the hostile parties within twenty miles of each other, but Montrose was not aware that his enemy was so near at hand. Strachan, who had early intelligence brought him of Montrose's advance, immediately called a council of war to deliberate, at which it was resolved that the Earl of Sutherland should, by a circuitous movement, throw himself into Montrose's rear, in order to prevent a junction between him and Henry Graham, and such of the Strathnaver and Caithness men as should at-

tempt to join him, and to protect the country of Sutherland from the threatened ravages of Montrose, and that, at the same time, Strachan with his five troops of horse, and the Munroes, and Rosses, under Balnagown, and Lumlair, should march directly forward and attack Montrose in the level country before he should, as was contemplated, retire to the hills on the approach of Leslie, who was hastening rapidly north with a force of four thousand horse and foot, at the rate of thirty miles a day.

It was Saturday, the twenty-seventh day of April, when Strachan's officers were deliberating whether they should move immediately forward or wait till Monday, "and so decline the hazard of engaging upon the Lord's day," when notice being brought that Montrose had advanced from Strathoikel to Carbisdale, a movement which brought him six miles nearer to them, they therefore made arrangements for attacking him without delay. Strachan advanced without observation as far as Fearn, within a mile and a half or two miles of Montrose, where he concealed his men on a muir covered with broom, whence he sent out a party of scouts under Captain Andrew Munro, son of Munro of Lumlair, to reconnoitre Montrose. Munro soon returned and reported that Montrose had sent out a body of forty horse to ascertain their movements. In order to deceive this body, Strachan ordered one troop of horse out of the broom, which being the only force observed by Montrose's scouts, they returned and reported to Montrose what they had seen. This intelligence threw Montrose completely off his guard, who, conceiving that the whole strength of the enemy consisted of a single troop of horse, made no preparations for defending himself.

In the meantime, Strachan formed his men into four

divisions. The first, which consisted of about a hundred horsemen, he commanded himself; the second, amounting to upwards of eighty, was given in charge to Hacket; and the third, also horse, to the number of about forty, was led by Captain Hutcheson. The fourth division, which was composed of a body of musketeers belonging to Lawers's regiment, was commanded by one Quartermaster Shaw.

The deception, which had been so well practised upon Montrose by Strachan, in concealing the real amount of his force, might not have been attended with any serious effect to Montrose, but for another stratagem which Strachan had in reserve, which proved his ruin. Strachan's scheme was first to advance with his own division, to make it appear as if his whole strength consisted at first of only a hundred horse, and while Montrose was impressed with this false idea to bring up the other three divisions in rapid succession, and thus create a panic among Montrose's men, as if a large army was about to attack them. This contrivance was crowned with the most complete success. Montrose, little suspecting the trick, was thrown quite off his guard, and alarmed at the sudden appearance of successive bodies of cavalry, he immediately gave orders for a retreat to a wood and craggy hill at a short distance in his rear; but before Montrose's men could reach their intended place of retreat, they were overtaken when almost breathless, as they were about entering the wood, by Strachan's troopers, who charged them violently. The foreign troops received the charge with firmness, and, after discharging a volley upon the horse, flew into the wood; but most of the Orcadians threw down their arms in terror and begged for quarter. The Munroes and Rosses followed the Danish troops into the wood and killed many of them. Two hundred

of the fugitives, in attempting to cross the adjoining river, were all drowned.

Montrose for some time made an unavailing effort to rally some of his men, and fought with his accustomed bravery; but having his horse shot under him, and seeing it utterly impossible longer to resist the enemy, he mounted the horse of Lord Frendraught, which that young and generous nobleman proffered him, and galloped off the field; and as soon as he got out of the reach of the enemy, he dismounted, and throwing away his cloak, which was decorated with the Star of the Garter, and his sword, sought his safety on foot.

The slaughter of Montrose's men continued about two hours, or until sunset, during which time ten of his best officers and 386 common soldiers were killed. The most conspicuous among the former for bravery was Menzies younger of Pitfoddles, the bearer of the black standard, who repeatedly refused to receive quarter. Upwards of four hundred prisoners were taken, including thirty-one officers, among whom were Sir John Hurry and Lord Frendraught, the latter of whom was severely wounded. Among the prisoners taken were two ministers. This victory was achieved almost without bloodshed on the part of the victors, who had only two men wounded. One of their troopers was drowned in his eagerness pursuing the party of Royalists who perished in the river. After the slaughter, the conquerors returned thanks to God on the open field for the victory they had obtained, and returned to Tain, carrying the prisoners along with them. For several days the people of Ross and Sutherland continued to pursue some unfortunate stragglers, whom they despatched. The result was most calamitous to Orkney, as appears from a petition and memorandum by the gentlemen of Orkney to Lord Morton in 1662,

in which it is stated, that there was scarcely a gentleman's house in that country " but lost either a son or a brother."

Montrose, accompanied by the Earl of Kinnoul, who had lately succeeded to the title on the death of his brother, and six or seven companions, having, as before stated, dismounted from his horse and thrown away his cloak and sword, and having, by the advice of his friends, to avoid detection, exchanged his clothes for the more homely attire of a common Highlander, he wandered all night and the two following days among bleak and solitary regions, without knowing where to proceed, and ready to perish under the accumulated distresses of hunger, fatigue, and anxiety of mind. The Earl of Kinnoul, unable, from exhaustion, to follow Montrose any farther, was left among the mountains, where it is supposed he perished. When upon the point of starvation, Montrose was fortunate to light upon a small cottage, where he obtained a supply of milk and bread, on receiving which he continued his lonely and dangerous course among the mountains of Sutherland, at the risk of being seized every hour, and dragged as a felon before the very man whom, only a few days before, he had threatened with his vengeance.

In the meantime, active search was made after Montrose. As it was conjectured that he might attempt to reach Caithness, where his natural brother, Henry Graham, still remained with some troops in possession of the castle of Dunbeath, and as it appeared probable, from the direction Montrose was supposed to have taken, that he meant to go through Assynt, Captain Andrew Munro sent instructions to Neil Macleod, the laird of Assynt, his brother-in-law, to apprehend every stranger that might enter his bounds, in the hope of catching Montrose, for whose apprehension a splendid reward

was offered. In consequence of these instructions, Macleod sent out various parties in quest of Montrose, but they could not fall in with him. "At last," says Bishop Wishart, "the laird of Assynt, being abroad in arms with some of his tenants in search of him, lighted on him in a place where he had continued three or four days without meat or drink, and only one man in his company." The bishop then states, that "Assynt had formerly been one of Montrose's own followers; who immediately knowing him, and believing to find friendship at his hands, willingly discovered himself; but Assynt not daring to conceal him, and being greedy of the reward which was promised to the person who should apprehend him by the Council of the Estates, immediately seized and disarmed him." This account differs a little from that of the author of the continuation of Sir Robert Gordon's history, who says, that it was one of Macleod's parties that apprehended Montrose, but is altogether silent as to Assynt's having been a follower of Montrose, but both writers inform us that Montrose offered Macleod a large sum of money for his liberty, which he refused to grant. Macleod kept Montrose and his companion, Major Sinclair, an Orkney gentleman, prisoners in the castle of Ardvrack, his principal residence. By order of Leslie, Montrose was thence removed to Skibo castle, where he was kept two nights, thereafter to the castle of Braan, and thence again to Edinburgh.

In his progress to the capital, Montrose had to endure all those indignities which vulgar minds, instigated by malevolence and fanaticism, could suggest; but he bore every insult with the most perfect composure. At a short interview which he had with two of his children at the house of the Earl of South Esk, his father-in-law, on his way to Edinburgh, he exhibited the same

composure, for "neither at meeting nor parting could any change of his former countenance be discerned, or the least expression heard which was not suitable to the greatness of his spirit, and the fame of his former actions. His behaviour was, during the whole journey, such as became a great man; his countenance was serene and cheerful, as one who was superior to all those reproaches which they had prepared the people to pour out upon him in all the places through which he was to pass."

At Dundee, which had particularly suffered from his army, a very different feeling was, however, shown by the inhabitants, who displayed a generosity of feeling and a sympathy for fallen greatness, which did them immortal honour. Instead of insulting the fallen hero in his distress, they commiserated his misfortunes, and prevailed upon his guards to permit him to exchange the rustic and mean apparel in which he had been apprehended, and which, to excite the derision of the mob, they had compelled him to wear, for a more becoming dress which had been provided for him by the people of Dundee. The sensibilities of the inhabitants had probably been awakened by a bold and ineffectual attempt by the lady of the laird of Grange, at whose house, in the neighbourhood of Dundee, Montrose had passed the previous night, to rescue him. The author of the "Memoirs of the Somervilles" gives the following characteristic account of this affair:

"It was at this ladye's house that that party of the Covenanters their standing armie, that gairded in the marques of Montrose, efter his forces was beat and himself betrayed in the north, lodged him, whom this excellent lady designed to sett at libertie, by procureing his escape from her house; in order to this, soe soon as ther quarters was settled, and that she had observed

the way and manner of the placeing of the guairds, and what officers commanded them, she not only ordered her butlers to let the souldiers want for noe drink, but she herself, out of respect and kyndnesse, as she pretended, plyed hard the officers and souldiers of the main-guaird (which was keeped in her owne hall) with the strongest ale and acquavite, that before midnight, all of them (being for the most part Highlandmen of Lawers's regiment) became starke drunke. If her stewarts and other servants had obeyed her directions in giving out what drinke the out-gairds should have called for, undoubtedly the business had been effectuat; but unhappily, when the marques had passed the first and second centinells that was sleeping upon their musquets, and likewayes through the main-gaird, that was lying in the hall lyke swyne on a midding, he was challenged a little without the outmost guaird by a wretched trouper of Strachan's troupe, that had been present at his taking. This fellow was none of the guaird that night, but being quartered hard by, was come rammelling in for his bellieful of drinke, when he made this unluckie discovery, which being done, the marques was presently seized upon, and with much rudenesse (being in the ladye's cloaths which he had put on for a disguize) turned back to his prisone chamber. The lady, her old husband, with the wholl servants of the house, were made prisoners for that night, and the morrow efter, when they came to be challenged before these that had the command of this party, and some members of that wretched Committee of Estates, that satt allways at Edenbrough (for mischief to the royal interest), which they had sent for the more security, to be still with this party, fearing the great friends and weill-wishers this noble heroe had upon the way he was to come, should either by force or stratageme, be taken from them.

The ladie, as she had been the only contryver of Montrose's escape, soe did she avow the same before them all; testifying she was heartily sorry it had not taken effect according to her wished desyre. This confidence of hers, as it bred some admiratione in her accusors, soe it freed her husband and the servants from being farder challenged; only they took security of the laird for his ladye's appearing before the Committie of Estates when called, which she never was. Ther worships gott something else to thinke upon, then to conveen soe excellent a lady before them upon such ane account, as tended greatly to her honour and ther oune shame."

The Parliament, which had adjourned itself till the fifteenth of May, met on the appointed day, and that no time might be lost in getting rid of Montrose, they named a committee composed of his deadliest enemies to devise the mode of his reception into the capital and the manner of his death, in terms of whose report an act was passed on the seventeenth of May ordaining, " James Graham," to be conveyed bareheaded from the Water Gate, the eastern extremity of the city, on a cart, to which he was to be tied with a rope, and drawn by the hangman in in his livery, with his hat on, to the jail of Edinburgh, and thence to be brought to the Parliament House, and there on his knees to receive sentence of death to this effect, — that he should be hanged on a gibbet at the cross of Edinburgh, with the book which contained the history of his wars and the declaration which he had issued, tied to his neck, and after hanging for the space of three hours, that his body should be cut down by the hangman, his head severed from his body, fixed on an iron pike and placed on the pinnacle on the west end of the prison, that his hands and legs should also be cut off, the former to be placed over the gates of Perth and Stirling, and the latter over those of Aberdeen and

Glasgow; that if at his death he showed any signs of repentance, and should in consequence be relieved from the sentence of excommunication, which the Kirk had pronounced against him, that the trunk of his body should be interred by "pioneers" in the Gray Friars' churchyard; but otherwise, that it should be buried in the Boroughmuir, the usual place of execution, under the scaffold, by the hangman's assistants.

The minds of the populace had, at this time, been wrought up to the highest pitch of hatred at Montrose by the ministers, who, during a fast which had lately been held in thanksgiving for his apprehension, had launched out the most dreadful and bloody invectives against him, and to this circumstance is to be attributed the ignominious plan devised for his reception, by exhibiting him as a spectacle for popular vengeance, in order to confirm, in the minds of the vulgar, the unfavourable impressions they had imbibed, and that they might overwhelm the unfortunate victim with contumely, and perhaps commit acts of violence upon his person.

On the day following the passing of the act, Montrose was brought up from Leith, mounted on an outworn horse, to the Water Gate, along with twenty-three of his officers, his fellow prisoners, where he was met about 4 o'clock P. M. by the magistrates of the city in their robes, followed by the "town guard," and the common executioner. Having been delivered by his guards to the civic authorities, whose duty it now was to take charge of his person, Montrose was, for the first time, made acquainted with the fate which awaited him by one of the magistrates putting a copy of the sentence into his hands that he might read it. He perused the paper with composure, and after he had read it, he informed the magistrates that he was ready to submit

to it, and only regretted, " that through him the king's Majesty, whose person he represented, should be so much dishonoured."

Before mounting the vehicle brought for his reception, Montrose was ordered by the hangman to uncover his head; but as the mandate was not immediately attended to, that abhorred instrument of the law enforced his command with his own hands. He thereupon made Montrose go into the cart, and placing him on a high chair fixed upon a small platform raised at the end of the cart, he pinioned his arms close to his sides by means of cords, which being made to pass across his breast, and fastened behind the vehicle, kept him so firmly fixed as to render his body immovable. The other prisoners, who were tied together in pairs, having been marshalled in front of the cart in walking order and uncovered, the hangman, clothed in his terrific attire, mounted the horse attached to the cart, and the procession thereupon moved off at a slow pace up the Canongate, in presence of thousands of spectators, who lined the long and spacious street, and filled the windows of the adjoining houses. Among the crowd which thronged the street to view the mournful spectacle was a great number of the inferior classes of the community, chiefly females, who had come with the determined intention of venting abuse upon the fallen hero, and pelting him, as he proceeded along the street, with dirt, stones, and other missiles, in consequence of the harangues of the ministers on occasion of the late fast; but they were so overawed by the dignity of his demeanour, and the undaunted courage of soul which he displayed, that their feelings were at once overcome, and instead of covering him with reproaches, they dissolved into tears of pity at the sight of fallen greatness, and invoked the blessings of Heaven upon the head of

the illustrious captive. A result, so totally unlooked for, could not be but exceedingly displeasing to the enemies of Montrose, and particularly to the ministers, who, on the following day, being Sunday, denounced the conduct of the people from the pulpits of the city, and threatened them with the wrath of heaven.

But displeasing as the humane reception of Montrose was to the clergy, it must have been much more mortifying to Argyle, his mortal enemy, who, regardless of decency and good feeling, displayed his hatred at his prostrate adversary by feasting his eyes with the sorrowful spectacle of a chivalrous and high-minded man, illustrious for his achievements and noble birth, dragged as a felon, by the common executioner, through the streets of the metropolis. Had he been prompted by a mere feeling of curiosity to see his defenceless victim, from whom, when armed, he had, craven-like, so often slunk away, — a feeling which no other man in Argyle's situation would have sought to indulge, — he might have adopted various ways to effect his purpose without observation; but such a line of conduct did not accord with the mean and cowardly spirit of Argyle, who, surrounded by his family and friends, appeared publicly on a balcony in front of the Earl of Moray's house in the Canongate, where with malignant complacency he beheld the great Montrose in a condition to which even the vilest of mankind are seldom reduced. To add to the insult, the vehicle which carried Montrose was stopped for some time beneath the place where Argyle and his party stood, to allow them a leisurely view of the object of their hate, and that they might indulge, in his presence, in those demonstrations of unworthy triumph which little and vindictive minds never fail to exhibit toward the unfortunate. With what feelings of disdain and contempt-

uous pity must Montrose have been seized when his eyes met those of his pusillanimous and vindictive rival! But whatever were the inward workings of his soul, he betrayed no symptoms of inquietude, but preserved, during this trying scene, a dignified composure which overwhelmed his recreant insulters with shame.

Although the distance from the Water Gate to the prison was only about half a mile, yet so slow had the procession moved, that it was almost seven o'clock in the evening before it reached the prison. When released from the cart Montrose gave the hangman some money for his services in having driven his "triumphal chariot," as he jocularly termed the cart, so well. On being lodged in jail, he was immediately visited by a small committee appointed by the Parliament, which had held an extraordinary meeting at six o'clock in the evening. Balfour says, that the object of the committee, which consisted of three members and two ministers, was to ask "James Grahame if he had anything to say, and to show him that he was to repair to the house to receive his sentence." The house remained sitting till the return of the deputation, who reported that Montrose had refused to answer any of the interrogatories put to him till he was informed upon what terms they stood with the king, and whether they had concluded any agreement with him. In consequence of this information, the Parliament delayed passing sentence till 10 o'clock A. M. of Monday, the twentieth of May; and, in the meantime, appointed seven of their members to wait upon the marquis and examine him on some points respecting "Duke Hamilton and others;" and to induce him to answer, the deputation was instructed to inform him, that an agreement had been concluded between the commissioners on the part of the Estates and his Majesty, who was coming to Scotland. Montrose, however,

excused himself from annoyance by stating, that as his journey had been long, and as "the ceremony and compliment they had paid him that day had been somewhat wearisome and tedious," he required repose, in consequence of which the deputation left him.

Montrose meant to have spent the whole of the following day, being Sunday, in devotional exercises suitable to his trying situation; but he was denied this consolation by the incessant intrusions of the ministers and members of Parliament, who annoyed him by putting a variety of ensnaring questions to him, which he having refused to answer, they gave vent to the foulest reproaches against him. These insults, however, had no effect on him, nor did he show the least symptoms of impatience, but carried himself throughout with a firmness which no menaces could shake. When he broke silence at last, he said that "they were much mistaken if they imagined that they had affronted him by carrying him in a vile cart the day before; for he esteemed it the most honourable and cheerful journey he had ever performed in his life; his most merciful God and Redeemer having all the while manifested his presence to him in a most comfortable and inexpressible manner, and supplied him by his divine grace, with resolution and constancy to overlook the reproaches of men, and to behold him alone for whose cause he suffered."

Agreeably to the order of Parliament, Montrose was brought up by the magistrates of Edinburgh on Monday at 10 A. M. to receive sentence. As if to give dignity and importance to the cause for which he was about to suffer and to show how indifferent he was to his own fate, Montrose appeared at the bar of the Parliament in a superb dress which he had provided for the purpose, after his arrvial in Edinburgh. His small clothes consisted of a rich suit of black silk, covered with costly

silver lace, over which he wore a scarlet rocket which reached to his knee, and which was trimmed with silver galouns, and lined with crimson taffeta. He also wore silk stockings of a carnation colour with garters, roses, and corresponding ornaments, and a beaver hat having a very rich silver band.

Having ascended "the place of delinquents," a platform on which criminals received sentence, Montrose surveyed the scene before him with his wonted composure, and though his countenance was rather pale, and exhibited other symptoms of care, his firmness never for a moment forsook him. Twice indeed was he observed to heave a sigh and to roll his eyes along the House, during the virulent invectives which the lord chancellor (Loudon) poured out upon him, but these emotions were only the indications of the warmth of his feelings while suffering under reproaches which he could not resent.

The lord chancellor, in rising to address Montrose, entered into a long detail of his "rebellions," as he designated the warlike actions of Montrose, who, he said, had invaded his native country with hostile arms, and had called in Irish rebels and foreigners to his assistance. He then reproached Montrose with having broken not only the national Covenant, which he had bound himself to support, but also the solemn League and Covenant, to which the whole nation had sworn; and he concluded by informing Montrose, that for the many murders, treasons, and impieties of which he had been guilty, God had now brought him to suffer condign punishment. After the chancellor had concluded his harangue, Montrose requested permission to say a few words in his own vindication, which being granted, though not without some difficulty, he stated:

"That as he considered the Parliament to be now

sitting under the authority of the king, he had appeared before them with becoming respect, and had uncovered himself, which he would not otherwise have willingly done, — that in all cases, and particularly in public affairs, his chief concern had always been to act as a good Christian and a faithful subject, and that he had done nothing of which he was ashamed or had reason to repent. He freely admitted that he had engaged in the first or national covenant, and had complied with it, and with those who took it, as long as the ends for which it was ordained were observed; but when he discovered, what soon became evident to all the world, that some private persons, under the pretence of reforming some errors in religion, and preserving public liberty, intended to abridge and take away the king's just power and lawful authority, and assume it themselves, he had then withdrawn himself from that engagement; and when, in order to disappoint these men, and to clear themselves from being concerned in such base designs, the honest part of the nation thought it necessary to enter into an association for the security of religion, and the preservation of the royal authority, he likewise joined in it and subscribed it; that as to the solemn League and Covenant, he had never taken it, and never could approve or acknowledge it as a just and lawful confederacy; and therefore could not be accused of having broken it; and how far religion, which was now split into innumerable sects and parties, had been advanced by it, and what horrible mischiefs and dreadful tragedies it had occasioned, the three distressed kingdoms bore an abundant testimony; that when the late king had almost subdued his rebellious subjects in England, and a faction in Scotland, under colour of the solemn League, had sent in very powerful succours to their assistance, his Majesty had been pleased to send him into Scotland

clothed with his commission and authority to raise an army and make a diversion to prevent, if possible, these auxiliary forces from prosecuting their rebellious purpose; that he had acknowledged the king's command as most just, and conceived himself bound in duty and conscience to obey it, and that there were many persons who now heard him who could witness how he had executed that commission, and his carriage and behaviour during its continuance; that it was not in the power of the greatest generals altogether to prevent disorders in their army; but that he had endeavoured to do what he could to suppress them, and to punish the disorderly; that he had not spilt any blood, not even that of his most inveterate enemies, but in the field of battle; and that even in the greatest heat of action he had preserved the lives of many thousand; and that as he had first taken up arms at the command of the king, he had laid them down upon his orders, without any regard to his own interest, and had retired beyond the seas.

"With regard to his late invasion, he said, he had undertaken it at the command and by the express orders of the present king (to whom they all owed duty and allegiance, and for whose long and happy reign he offered his sincere and earnest prayers) in order to accelerate the treaty which was then begun betwixt him and them; that it was his intention, as soon as the treaty had been concluded, to lay down his arms and retire at the call of his Majesty; and such being his authority and determination, he might justly affirm, that no subject ever acted upon more honourable grounds, nor by a more lawful power and authority than he had done in the late expedition.

"In conclusion, he called upon the assemblage to lay aside all prejudice, private animosity, and desire of revenge, and to consider him, in relation to the justice

of his cause, as a man and a Christian, and an obedient subject, in relation to the commands of his sovereign, which he had faithfully executed. He then put them in mind of the great obligations which many of them were under to him, for having preserved their lives and fortunes at a time when he had the power and authority, had he inclined, of destroying both, and entreated them not to judge him rashly, but according to the laws of God, the laws of nature and nations, and particularly by the laws of the land; that if they should refuse to do so, he would appeal to the just Judge of the world, who would at last judge them all, and pronounce a righteous sentence."

This speech was delivered without affectation or embarrassment, and with such firmness and clearness of intonation, that according to a cavalier historian, many persons present were afterward heard to declare, that he looked and spoke as he had been accustomed when at the head of his army. The chancellor replied to Montrose, in a strain of the most furious invective, " punctually proving him," says Balfour, " by his acts of hostility, to be a person most infamous, perjured, treacherous, and of all that this land ever brought forth, the most creuell and inhumane butcher and murtherer of his natione, a sworne enimy to the covenant and peace of his countrey, and one quhosse boundlesse pryde and ambition had lost the father, and by his wicked counsells done quhat in him lay to distroy the sone lykwayes."

Montrose attempted to address the court a second time, but was rudely interrupted by the chancellor, who ordered him to keep silence, and to kneel down and receive his sentence. The prisoner at once obeyed, but remarked, that on falling on his knees, he meant only to honour the king his master, and not the Parliament. While Sir Archibald Johnston, the clerk-register, was

reading the sentence, Montrose kept his countenance erect and displayed his usual firmness. After the sentence had been read, the executioner, agreeably to ancient practice, repeated the doom. Montrose was thereupon carried back to prison, there to remain till three o'clock the following day, the time fixed for his execution.

The feelings of humanity and the voice of religion now demanded that the unfortunate prisoner should be allowed to spend the short time he had to live, in those solemn preparations for death enjoined by religion, in privacy and without molestation; but it was his fate to be in the hands of men in whose breasts such feelings had no place, and whose religion was deeply imbued with a stern and gloomy fanaticism, to which charity was an entire stranger. No sooner, therefore, had Montrose returned to prison, than he was again assailed by the ministers, who endeavoured to induce him to submit to the Kirk, no doubt considering the conversion of such an extraordinary malignant as Montrose, as a theological achievement of the first importance. To subdue his obstinacy, they magnified the power of the keys, which they said had been committed to them, and informed him that unless he reconciled himself to the Kirk and obtained a release from the sentence of excommunication, which had been pronounced against him, he would be eternally damned. But Montrose, regardless of their threats and denunciations, remained inflexible. Besides the ministers, he was frequently waited upon by the magistrates of the city, with whom he entered into conversation. He told them that he was much indebted to the Parliament for the great honour they had decreed him; that he was prouder to have his head fixed upon the top of the prison, than if they had decreed a golden statue to be erected to him

in the market-place, or ordered his portrait to be placed in the king's bedchamber; that so far from grieving for the mutilation which his body was about to undergo, he was happy that the Parliament had taken such an effectual method of preserving the memory of his loyalty, by transmitting such proofs of it to the four principal cities of the kingdom, and he only wished that he had flesh enough left to have sent a piece to every city in Christendom, as a testimony of his unshaken love and fidelity to his king and country. But annoying as the visits of the ministers and magistrates undoubtedly were, Montrose was still farther doomed to undergo the humiliation of being placed under the more immediate charge of Major Weir, who afterward obtained an infamous notoriety in the annals of criminal jurisprudence. This incestuous wretch, who laid claim to superior godliness, and who pretended to be gifted with the spirit of prayer, of which he gave proofs by many extemporary effusions, gave Montrose great uneasiness by smoking tobacco, to the smell of which, Montrose had, like Charles I, a particular aversion.

During the night, when free from the intrusion of the ministers, Montrose occupied himself in prayer and mental devotion, and even found leisure to gratify his poetic taste, by composing the following lines which he wrote upon the window of the chamber in which he was confined:

"Let them bestow on every airth a limb,
Then open all my veins, that I may swim
To thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake,
Then place my parboiled head upon a stake;
Scatter my ashes, strow them in the air.
Lord, since Thou knowest where all these atoms are,
I'm hopeful Thou'lt recover once my dust,
And confident Thou'lt raise me with the just."

On the morning of the twenty-first of May, 1650, the city of Edinburgh was put into a state of commotion by the noise of drums and trumpets, which was heard in every quarter of the city. The sound attracted the notice of Montrose, who inquired of the captain of the guard the cause of it. The officer told him that the Parliament, dreading that an attempt might be made by the mob, under the influence of the malignants, to rescue him, had given orders to call out the soldiers and citizens to arms. "Do I," said the marquis, "who was such a terror to these good men, when alive, continue still so formidable to them, now that I am about to die? But let them look to themselves; for even after I am dead, I will be continually present to their wicked consciences, and become more formidable to them than while I was alive."

After partaking of a hearty breakfast, Montrose entered upon the business of the toilet, to which he paid particular attention. While in the act of combing his hair, he was visited by Sir Archibald Johnston, the clerk-register, one of his most inveterate foes, who made some impertinent remarks on the impropriety, as he thought, of a person in the dreadful situation of the marquis, occupying some of the precious moments he had yet to live in frivolous attentions to his person. The marquis, who knew well the character of this morose man, thus addressed him with a smile of contempt: "While my head is my own, I will dress and adorn it; but to-morrow, when it becomes yours, you may treat it as you please."

About an hour before the time fixed for his execution, Montrose was waited upon by the magistrates of the city, who saw him conveyed to the place of execution on the same vehicle on which he had been carried into the city. In addition to the dress which he wore on that

occasion, he was now habited in a superb scarlet cloak, ornamented with gold and silver lace, which his friends had provided him with. Long before his removal from prison, an immense assemblage of persons had congregated around the place of execution in the High Street, all of whom were deeply affected by Montrose's appearance. As he proceeded along, he had, says Wishart, "such a grand air, and so much beauty, majesty, and gravity appeared in his countenance, as shocked the whole city at the cruelty that was designed him; and extorted even from his enemies this unwilling confession, that he was a man of the most lofty and elevated soul, and of the most unshaken constancy and resolution that the age had produced."

It had always been the uniform practice in Scotland to permit all persons about to suffer the last penalty of the law to address the assembled spectators, and on mounting the scaffold Montrose was proceeding to avail himself of this privilege; but the magistrates, who probably had received their instructions from the Parliament, refused to allow him to harangue the multitude. His friends, however, anticipating this, had hired a young man, skilled in stenography, who, having stationed himself near the scaffold, was enabled to take down the substance of some observations which Montrose was permitted to make in answer to questions put by some persons who surrounded him.

He began by remarking that he would consider it extremely hard indeed if the mode of his death should be esteemed any reflection upon him, or prove offensive to any good Christian, seeing that such occurrences often happened to the good, at the hands of the wicked, and often to the wicked at the hands of the good, and that just men sometimes perish in their righteousness, while wicked men prosper in their villainies. That he,

therefore, expected that those who knew him well would not esteem him the less for his present sufferings, especially as many greater and more deserving men than he had undergone the same untimely and disgraceful fate. Yet, that he could not but acknowledge that all the judgments of God were just, and that the punishment he was about to suffer was very deservedly inflicted upon him for the many private sins he had committed, and he therefore willingly submitted to it; that he freely pardoned and forgave his enemies, whom he reckoned but the instruments of the Divine will, and prayed to God to forgive them, although they had oppressed the poor, and perverted judgment and justice.

That he had done nothing contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and that he had undertaken nothing but in obedience to the just commands of his sovereign, when reduced to the greatest difficulties by his rebellious subjects, who had risen up in arms against him; that his principal study had always been to fear God and honour the king, in a manner agreeable to the law of God, the laws of nature, and those of his own country; and that, in neither of these respects, had he transgressed against men, but against God alone, with whom he expected to find abundant mercy, and in the confidence of which he was ready to approach the eternal throne without terror; that he could not pretend to foretell what might happen, or to pry into the secrets of Divine Providence; but he prayed to God that the indignities and cruelties which he was that day to suffer might not be a prelude of still greater miseries which would befall his afflicted country, which was fast hastening to ruin.

That with regard to the grievous censure of the church, which he was sorry some good people thought it a crime in him to die under, he observed, that he

did not incur it from any fault of his own, but in the performance of his duty to his lawful prince, for the security of religion, and the preservation of his sacred person and royal authority; that the sentence of excommunication, so rashly laid upon him by the clergy, gave him much concern, and that he earnestly desired to be released from it, so far as that could be done, agreeably to the laws of God, and without hurting his conscience or allegiance, which, if they refused, he appealed to God, the righteous judge of the world, who, ere long, was to be his impartial judge and gracious redeemer.

In answer to the reproaches of some persons who had endeavoured to destroy the marquis's character and reputation by spreading a report that he had laid the whole blame of what he had done upon the king and his royal father, he observed that such a thought had never for once entered into his breast; that the late king had lived a saint and died a martyr, and he prayed to God, that as his own fate was not unlike his, so his death might be attended with the same degree of piety and resignation; for if he could wish his soul in another man's stead, or to be conjoined with it in the same condition after this life, it would be his alone.

He then requested that the people would judge charitably of him and his actions, without prejudice and without passion. He desired the prayers of all good men for his soul; for his part, he said he prayed earnestly for them all; and with the greatest seriousness, submission, and humility deprecated the vengeance of Almighty God, which had been so long awakened, and which was still impending over his afflicted country; that his enemies were at liberty to exult and triumph over the perishing remains of his body, but the utmost indignities they could inflict should never prevail on him, now at his

death, to swerve from that duty and reverence to God, and obedience and respect to the king, which he had manifested all his life long. "I can say no more," concluded the marquis, "but remit myself to your charity, and I desire your prayers. You that are scandalized at me, give me your charity; I shall pray for you all. I leave my soul to God, my service to my prince, my good-will to my friends, and my name in charity to you all. I might say more, but I have exonered my conscience; the rest I leave to God's mercy."

A party of ministers who occupied the lower end of the scaffold now attempted, partly by persuasion and partly by threats, to induce Montrose to yield to the Kirk by acknowledging his own criminality; but he denied that he had acted contrary to religion and the laws of the land, and, of course, refused to accept of a reconciliation upon such terms. Finding him inflexible, they refused to pray for him as he desired, observing, that no prayers could be of any avail to a man who was an outcast from the church of God. Being desired to pray by himself apart, he told them that if they would not permit the people to join with him, his prayers alone and separately before so large an assembly would perhaps be offensive both to them and him; that he had already poured out his soul before God, who knew his heart, and to whom he had committed his spirit. He then shut his eyes, and holding his hat before his face with his left hand, he raised his right in the attitude of prayer, in which posture he continued about a quarter of an hour in silent and fervent prayer.

As the fatal hour was fast approaching when this unfortunate nobleman was to bid a last and eternal adieu to sublunary things, he desired the executioner to hasten his preparations. This hated functionary, accordingly, brought the book of Montrose's wars,

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and his late declaration, which, by the sentence, were ordered to be tied round his neck with a cord. Montrose himself assisted in carrying this part of his sentence into execution, and while the operation was performing, good-humouredly remarked, that he considered himself as much honoured then by having such tokens of his loyalty attached to his person as he had been when his Majesty had invested him with the order of the Garter.

Hitherto, Montrose had remained uncovered; but, before ascending the ladder which conducted to the top of the gibbet, which rose to the height of thirty feet from the centre of the scaffold, he requested permission to put on his hat. This request was, however, refused. He then asked leave to keep on his cloak; but this favour was also denied him. Irritated, probably at these refusals, he appears for a moment to have lost his usual equanimity of temper, and when orders were given to pinion his arms, he told the magistrates that if they could invent any further marks of ignominy, he was ready to endure them all for the sake of the cause for which he suffered.

On arriving at the top of the ladder, which he ascended with astonishing firmness, Montrose asked the executioner how long his body was to be suspended to the gibbet. "Three hours," was the answer. He then presented the executioner with three or four pieces of gold, told him he freely forgave him for the part he acted, and instructed him to throw him off as soon as he observed him uplifting his hands. The executioner watched the fatal signal with a throbbing heart, and when the noble victim raised his hands, the ill-fated functionary obeyed the mandate, and gave vent to his sorrow by a flood of tears. A feeling of horror seized the assembled multitude, who expressed their disapprobation by a general groan. Among the spectators

were many persons who had indulged during the day in bitter invectives against Montrose, but whose feelings were so overpowered by the sad spectacle of his death that they could not refrain from tears. Even the hard-hearted Argyle, who displayed, for once at least, some good feeling, by absenting himself from the execution, is said to have shed tears on hearing of Montrose's death, but if a cavalier writer is to be believed, his son, Lord Lorne, disgraced himself by the most unfeeling barbarity.[9]

Thus died, at the early age of thirty-eight, James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, who had acquired during a short career of military glory greater reputation than perhaps ever fell to the lot of any commander in ancient or modern times within the same compass of time. That partisans may have exaggerated his actions, and extolled his character too highly, may be fairly admitted; but it cannot be denied that Montrose was really a great commander, and that there were noble and generous traits about him which indicated a high and cultivated mind, far superior to the age in which he lived. But however much the military exploits of Montrose may be admired, it must never be forgotten that his sword was drawn against his own countrymen in their struggles against arbitrary power, and that although there was much to condemn in the conduct of the Covenanters, subsequent events, in the reign of the second Charles, showed that they were not mistaken in the dread which they entertained of the extinction of their religious liberties, had Charles the First succeeded in his designs.

Among Montrose's officers five of the most distinguished were selected for execution, all of whom perished under "the Maiden," a species of the guillotine, introduced into Scotland by the Regent Morton, to which he himself became the first victim. The officers who suffered were Sir John Hurry,[10] Captain Spottiswood, younger

of Dairsie, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetty, Colonel William Sibbald, and Captain Charteris, a cadet of the ancient family of Amisfield. All these met death with extraordinary fortitude. Sir Francis Hay, who was a Catholic, "and therefore," as a cavalier historian quaintly observes, "not coming within the compass of the ministers' prayers," displayed in particular an intrepidity worthy of his name and family.[11] After a witty metaphorical allusion to "the Maiden," he kissed the fatal instrument, and kneeling down, laid his head upon the block. Colonel Sibbald exhibited a surprising gaiety, and, "with an undaunted behaviour, marched up to the block, as if he had been to act the part of a gallant in a play." An instance of the unfeeling levity with which such melancholy scenes were witnessed, even by those who considered themselves the ministers of the gospel, occurred on the present as on former occasions. Captain Spottiswood, grandson of the archbishop of that name, having on his knees said the following prayer, "O Lord, who hath been graciously pleased to bring me through the wilderness of this world, I trust at this time you will waft me over this sea of blood to my heavenly Canaan," was rebuked by a minister who was near him in the following words: "Take tent (heed), take tent, sir, that you drown not by the gate (way)!" Spottiswood replied with great modesty that "he hoped he was no Egyptian," an answer which forced the base intruder to retire among the crowd to conceal his shame.

The execution of Captain Charteris (the last who suffered) was a source of melancholy regret to his friends, and of triumph to the ministers. He was a man of a determined mind; but his health being much impaired by wounds which he had received, he had not firmness to resist the importunities of his friends, who, as a means of saving his life, as they thought, prevailed upon him

to agree to make a public declaration of his errors. This unhappy man, accordingly, when on the scaffold, read a long speech, which had been prepared for him by the ministers, penned in a peculiarly mournful strain, in which he lamented his apostacy from the covenant, and acknowledged "other things which he had vented to them," the ministers, "in auricular confession." [12] Yet, notwithstanding the expectations which he and his friends were led to entertain that his life would be spared, he had no sooner finished his speech than he was despatched.

CHAPTER V

CHARLES II IN SCOTLAND

Having arranged with the commissioners the conditions on which he was to ascend the Scottish throne, Charles, with about five hundred attendants, left Holland on the second of June, in some vessels furnished him by the Prince of Orange, and after a boisterous voyage of three weeks, during which he was daily in danger of being captured by English cruisers, arrived in the Moray Frith, and disembarked at Garmouth, a small village at the mouth of the Spey, on the twenty-third of that month. Before landing, however, the Covenant was presented to him for signature by John Livingston, a minister, to which the king readily adhibited his subscription, but which he had no intention of observing longer than suited his purpose. Looking upon the crowns of England and Scotland as his own by hereditary right, — a right which he had never forfeited, but from the possession of which the enemies of monarchical government were attempting unjustly to exclude him, — he probably considered that the circumstances in which he was placed justified him in pursuing the course he did, in order to obtain possession of his inheritance; yet, as dissimulation is never allowable, it would require no inconsiderable power of casuistry to palliate sufficiently the conduct of Charles on this occasion. The Parliament certainly had no right to impose the Solemn League and Covenant upon him, but having accepted it without reservation, he was not

entitled to disregard it altogether, far less to allow it, as he afterward did, to be burnt in London by the hands of the common executioner.

The news of the king's arrival reached Edinburgh on the twenty-sixth of June. The guns of the castle were fired in honour of the event, and the inhabitants manifested their joy by bonfires and other demonstrations of popular feeling. The same enthusiasm spread quickly throughout the kingdom, and his Majesty was welcomed with warm congratulations as he proceeded on his journey toward Falkland, which had been allotted to him by Parliament as the place of his residence. The pleasure he received from these professions of loyalty was, however, not without alloy, being obliged, at the request of the Parliament, to dismiss from his presence some of his best friends, both Scots and English, particularly the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Lauderdale, and other "engagers," who, by an act passed on the fourth of June against "classed delinquents," were debarred from returning to the kingdom, or remaining therein, "without the express warrant of the Estates of Parliament." Of the English exiles the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Wilmot, and seven gentlemen of the household were allowed to remain with him. In fact, with these exceptions, every person, even suspected of being a "malignant," was carefully excluded from the court, and his Majesty was thus surrounded by the heads of the Covenanters and the clergy. These last scarcely ever left his person, watched his words and motions, and inflicted upon him long harangues, in which he was often reminded of the misfortunes of his family.

The rulers of the English commonwealth, aware of the negotiations which had been going on between the young king and the Scots commissioners in Holland, became apprehensive of their own stability, should a

union take place between the Covenanters and the English Presbyterians, to support the cause of the king, and they therefore resolved to invade Scotland, and by reducing it to their authority extinguish for ever the hopes of the king and his party. Fairfax was appointed commander-in-chief, and Cromwell lieutenant-general of the army destined for this purpose; but as Fairfax considered the invasion of Scotland as a violation of the Solemn League and Covenant which he had sworn to observe, he refused, notwithstanding the most urgent entreaties, to accept the command, which was in consequence devolved upon Cromwell.

The preparations making in England for the invasion of Scotland were met with corresponding activity in Scotland, the Parliament of which ordered an army of thirty thousand men to be immediately raised to maintain the independence of the country. The nominal command of this army was given to the Earl of Leven, who had become old and infirm; but David Leslie, his relative, was in reality the commander. The levies went on with considerable rapidity, but before they were assembled Cromwell crossed the Tweed, on the twenty-second day of July, at the head of sixteen thousand well-appointed and high-disciplined troops. On his march from Berwick to Musselburgh a scene of desolation was presented to the eyes of Cromwell, far surpassing anything he had ever before witnessed. With the exception of a few old women and children, not a human being was to be seen, and the whole country appeared as one great waste over which the hand of the ruthless destroyer had exercised its ravages. To understand the cause of this it is necessary to mention, that, with the view of depriving the enemy of provisions, instructions had been issued to lay waste the country between Berwick and the capital; to remove or destroy the cattle and provisions,

and that the inhabitants should retire to other parts of the kingdom under the severest penalties. To induce them to comply with this ferocious command, appalling statements of the cruelties of Cromwell in Ireland were industriously circulated among the people, and that he had given orders to put all the males between sixteen and sixty to death, to cut off the right hands of all the boys between six and sixteen, and to bore the breasts of all females of age for bearing children, with red-hot irons. Fortunately for his army Cromwell had provided a fleet in case of exigency, which followed his course along the coast, and supplied him with provisions.

The English general continued his course along the coast till he arrived at Musselburgh, where he established his headquarters. Here he learnt that the Scots army, consisting of upwards of thirty thousand men, had taken up a strong position between Edinburgh and Leith, and had made a deep entrenchment in front of their lines, along which they had erected several batteries. Cromwell reconnoitred this position, and tried all his art to induce the Scots to come to a general engagement; but as Leslie's plan was to act on the defensive, and thus force Cromwell either to attack him at a considerable disadvantage, or to retreat back into England after his supply of provisions should be exhausted, he kept his army within their entrenchments.

As Cromwell perceived that he would be soon reduced to the alternative of attacking the Scots in their position, or of retracing his steps through the ruined track over which his army had lately passed, he resolved upon an assault, and fixed Monday, the twenty-ninth day of July, for advancing on the enemy. By a singular coincidence, the king, at the instigation of the Earl of Eglinton, but contrary to the wish of his council and the commanders, visited the army that very day. His presence was

hailed with shouts of enthusiasm by the soldiers, who indulged in copious libations to the health of their sovereign. The soldiers in consequence neglected their duty, and great confusion prevailed in the camp; but on the approach of Cromwell sufficient order was restored, and they patiently waited his attack. Having selected the centre of the enemy's position, near a spot called the Quarry Holes, about halfway between Edinburgh and Leith, as appearing to him the most favourable point for commencing the operations of the day, Cromwell led forward his army to the assault; but after a desperate struggle he was repulsed with the loss of two of his cannon. The regiment of Lawers particularly distinguished itself on this occasion, which not only routed a considerable body of Cromwell's foot, but drove a party of artillery from the adjoining hill at St. Leonard's chapel, where they had planted some cannon to play on the Scottish position. Under the protection of a large body of horse the English regained their cannon; but they lost a considerable number of men and horses from an incessant fire of musketry kept up by Lawers's men from the hedges and rocks. Cromwell renewed the attack on the thirty-first, and would probably have carried Leslie's position but for a destructive fire from some batteries near Leith. While skirmishing with the enemy in front of the line, Sir James Hackett, who should have seconded David Leslie, " received a great fright," says Balfour, and was so alarmed that he scampered off at full gallop; but on the third of August he and Colonel Scott, who appears also to have acted a cowardly part, were exculpated by the committee, " yet that," continues Balfour, " did little to save their honour amongst honest men, and soldiours of worthe and reputatione." Cromwell retired to Musselburgh in the evening, where he was unexpectedly attacked by a

body of two thousand horse and five hundred foot, commanded by Major-General Montgomery, son of the Earl of Eglinton, and Colonel Strachan, which had been despatched at an early part of the day by a circuitous route to the right, for the purpose of falling on Cromwell's rear. If Balfour is to be credited, this party beat Cromwell "soundlie," and would have defeated his whole army if they had had an additional force of one thousand men; but an English writer informs us, that the Scots suffered severely. According to the first mentioned author the English had five colonels and five hundred men killed, while the latter states the loss of the Scots to have been about a hundred men, and a large number of prisoners. On the following day, Cromwell, probably finding that he had enough of mouths to consume his provisions, without the aid of prisoners, offered to exchange all those he had taken the preceding day, and sent the wounded Scots back to their camp.

These rencounters, notwithstanding the expectations of the ministers, and the vaunts of the Parliamentary committee of their pretended successes, inspired some of Leslie's officers with a salutary dread of the prowess of Cromwell's veterans. An amusing instance of this feeling is related by Balfour in the case of the Earl of W. (he suppresses the name), who "beinng commandit the nixt day," the day after the last mentioned skirmish, "in the morning, to marche out one a partey, saw he could not goe one upone service untill he had his brackefaste. The brackefaste was delayed above 4 hours in getting until the L. General being privily advertissed by a secrett frind, that my Lord was peaceably myndit that morning, sent him expresse orders not to marche, to save his reputation. One this, the gallants of the armey raissed a proverbe, 'That they wold not goe out one a partey until they gate ther brackefaste.'"

For several days Cromwell remained inactive in his camp, during which the Parliamentary committee subjected the Scots army to a purging operation, which impaired its efficiency, and, perhaps, contributed chiefly to its ruin. As the Solemn League and Covenant was considered by the Covenanters as a sacred pledge to God, which no true Christian could refuse to take, they looked upon those who declined to subscribe it as the enemies of religion, with whom it would be criminal in the eye of Heaven to associate. This principle had been acted upon when the Duke of Hamilton invaded England, and had led to the utter destruction of his army; but such an instructive lesson was thrown away upon the enthusiasts who usurped the direction of affairs in Scotland at this time, and, accordingly, the ministers preached incessantly against the sinfulness of allowing malignants and the enemies of the Covenant to remain in the army, and they denounced the judgments of God upon the land and army if such men were suffered to remain among them. A Committee of Parliament had been appointed for purging the army, which now entered upon its task; but before the purgation commenced, the king received a hint, equivalent to a command, from the heads of the Covenanters to retire to Dunfermline, an order which he obeyed "sore against his own mind," by taking his departure on Friday, the second of August, after spending the short space of two hours at a banquet, which had been provided for him by the city of Edinburgh. No sooner had the king departed than the purging process was commenced, and on the second, third, and fifth days of August, during which the Committee held their sittings, no less than eighty officers, all men of unquestionable loyalty, besides a considerable number of common soldiers, were expelled from the army.

In the meantime Cromwell's army began to be in lack

of provisions, but it was immediately supplied by some English vessels which arrived at Dunbar, whither Cromwell retired with his army on the fifth of August. Here he found the few inhabitants who had remained in the town in a state of starvation. Touched with commiseration, he generously distributed among them, on his supplies being landed, a considerable quantity of wheat and pease.

While the ministers were thanking God " for sending the sectarian army," for so they designated the Independents, " back the way they came, and flinging such a terror into their hearts, as made them fly when none pursued," Cromwell suddenly re-appeared at Musselburgh, and thus put an end to their thanksgivings.

Seeing no hopes of the Scots army leaving its entrenchments, and afraid that further delay might be injurious to him, Cromwell made a movement on the thirteenth of August to the west, as far as the village of Colinton, three miles southwest from Edinburgh, where he posted the main body of his army. The Scottish general, thinking that Cromwell had an intention of attacking him in his rear, raised his camp and marched towards Corstorphine, about two miles north from Colinton, where he drew out his army. Both armies surveyed each other for several days, but neither attempted to bring the other to action. As he could not, from the nature of the ground which lay between the two armies, attack his opponents with any probability of success, Cromwell again returned to Musselburgh with his army on a Sunday, that he might not be harassed in his march by the Covenanters, who never fought but on the defensive on that day.

Although the king before his landing had subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant, and although they had

purged the army to their heart's content, still Argyle and his party were not satisfied, and they, therefore, required his Majesty to subscribe a declaration " for the satisfaction of all honest men," to the effect aftermentioned. A copy of the proposed declaration had been put into the king's hands by the Marquis of Argyle on his departure from the army, and on the ninth of August, commissioners from the committees of the army and the Kirk arrived at Dunfermline to require his subscription to the declaration; but as the declaration contained several things offensive to his feelings, he absolutely refused to sign it.

The commissioners having returned to Edinburgh and reported progress, the commission of the General Assembly met in the West Kirk on the thirteenth of August, and drew up a declaration, setting forth that as there might be just ground of stumbling, on account of his Majesty's refusal to subscribe the declaration offered to him, and considering his former carriage and resolutions for the future in reference to the cause of God, and the enemies and friends thereof, they therefore declared that the Kirk and kingdom ought not to own nor espouse any malignant parties' quarrel or interest; but that they fought merely upon their former grounds and principles, and in defence of the cause of God and of the kingdom, as they had done for the last twelve years; and therefore they disclaimed all the sin and the guilt of the king, and of his house, and declared that they would not acknowledge him or his interest in any way, but in subordination to God, and that in so far as he aimed and prosecuted the cause of God, and disclaimed his and his father's opposition to the cause of God and to the covenant, and likewise all the enemies thereof; and that they would with convenient speed take into consideration the papers lately sent to them by

Oliver Cromwell, and vindicate themselves from all the falsehoods therein contained, especially in those things in which the quarrel betwixt them and the sectarian party was misstated as if they owned the late king's proceedings.

This extraordinary declaration, having received the approbation of the Committee of Estates, was forwarded to the king, but before its arrival he had held a council at Dunfermline to consult upon the propriety of subscribing the declaration. Among those present were Argyle, Lothian, Eglinton, Tweeddale, and Lorn, who advised his Majesty to sign the ungracious document, which they considered necessary to counteract the insidious and unjust accusations of Cromwell, who had openly charged the leading Presbyterians with the odious crime of aiding and abetting the cause of the malignants. His Majesty yielded to this advice; but before putting his name to it he sent for two of the leading ministers (Dickson and Gillespie) to endeavour to obtain from them some modification in the language used respecting his father. After considerable altercation, some alterations agreeable to his Majesty were admitted. With tears in his eyes he subscribed the declaration on the sixteenth of August, and the other declaration of the Commission of the Kirk was in consequence rescinded.

The " Heads of the Declaration " which his Majesty subscribed, were to this effect:

That though his Majesty, as a dutiful son, was obliged to honour the memory of his royal father, and to have in estimation the person of his mother, yet he desired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit before God because of his father's opposition to the work of God, and to the Solemn League and Covenant, by which so much of the blood of the Lord's people had been

shed in these kingdoms, and for the idolatry of his mother, the toleration whereof in the king's house, as it was matter of great humbling to all the Protestant churches, so could it not be but a high provocation against him who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children. That he had not subscribed the covenant from any sinister intention and crooked design, but sincerely, and that he would have no friends or enemies but those of the covenant, requiring all to lay down their enmity against the cause and people of God; that the treaty he had made with the Irish should be void; that no merchants following their business should be interrupted on the seas by the commissions which he had issued; and though he desired to construe favourably the intentions of those (in reference to him) that opposed the covenant, yet he would not give a commission to any such until they took the covenant, and gave evidence of their integrity, etc.

That he would satisfy the desires of his good English and Irish subjects, and if the Parliament of England, sitting in freedom, should require him to accede to the propositions of the two kingdoms, he would not only adopt them without alteration, but do what was necessary for prosecuting the ends of the covenant, especially in reforming the Church of England according to the standard of the Westminster divines, that the Church of England so reformed might enjoy full liberty and freedom; that he would consent to pass an act of oblivion in favour of all persons laying down their arms, except the chief obstructers of the work of reformation, and the authors of the change of government, and the murderers of his royal father, as they should be selected by the Houses of Parliament. And as "the sectaries" had invaded Scotland, his Majesty desired and expected that the well-affected in England would seize the oppor-

tunity to promote the covenant, and establish the ancient government, etc.

Although every sober and judicious person must have perceived that there was little probability that such a declaration would be regarded by the young monarch when released from his trammels, yet so greatly important was his Majesty's subscription to the instrument considered by the Covenanters, that they hailed it with the most lively emotions of joy and gratitude; and the ministers who, only two days before, had denounced the king from the pulpits as the root of malignancy, and a hypocrite, who had shown, by his refusal to sign the declaration, that he had no intention to keep the covenant, were the first to set the example. The army, excited by the harangues of the ministers during a fast, which they proclaimed to appease the anger of Heaven for the sins of the king and his father, longed to meet the enemy, and it required all the influence and authority of General Leslie to restrain them from leaving their lines and rushing upon the "sectaries;" but, unfortunately for the Covenanters, their wish was soon to be gratified.

It does not appear that the chiefs of the Covenanters were actuated by the same enthusiasm as the ministers and the common soldiers, or that the generals of the army were very sanguine of success. They were too well aware of the composition of Cromwell's veteran host, to suppose that their raw and undisciplined levies, though numerically superior, could meet the enemy in the open field; and hence they deemed it a wise course of policy to act on the defensive, and to harass them by a desultory warfare as occasion offered. This system had been so successful as to embarrass Cromwell greatly, and to leave him no alternative but a retreat into England, a resolution which he was obliged to adopt

more speedily, perhaps, than he would otherwise have done in consequence of extensive sickness in his army. No indications of any movement had appeared up to the twenty-ninth of August, as on that day the Committee of Estates adjourned the meeting of Parliament, which was to have then assembled, till the tenth day of September, "in respecte that Oliver Cromwell and his armey of sectaries and blasphemers have invadit this kingdome, and are now laying within the bosome thereof."

On the following day, however, Cromwell collected his army at Musselburgh, and having put all his sick on board his fleet, which lay in the adjoining bay, he gave orders to his army to march next morning to Haddington, and thence to Dunbar. He made an attempt to obtain the consent of the Committee of Estates to retire without molestation, promising never again to interfere in the affairs of Scotland; but they refused to agree to his proposal, as they considered that they would be able to cut off his retreat and compel him to surrender at discretion.

Next morning, being the thirty-first of August, Cromwell's army was in full retreat towards Haddington. The Scots army followed in close pursuit, but with the exception of some slight skirmishing between the advanced guard of the Scots and Cromwell's rear, nothing important took place. Cromwell halted during the night at Haddington, and offered battle next day; but as the Scots declined, he continued his retreat to Dunbar, which he reached in the evening. With the intention of cutting off his retreat, Leslie drew off his army to the south towards the heights of Lammermuir, and took up a position on Doon hill. Having at the same time secured an important pass called the Peaths, through which Cromwell had necessarily to pass on his

way to Berwick, the situation of Cromwell became extremely critical, as he had no chance of escape but by cutting his way through the Scots army, which had now completely placed itself on his line of retreat. Cromwell perceived the danger of his situation, but he was too much of an enthusiast to give way to despair; he deliberately, and within view of the enemy, shipped off the remainder of his sick at Dunbar, on the second of September, intending, should Providence not directly interpose in his behalf, to put his foot also on board, and at the head of his cavalry to cut his way through the Scots army. But as, in an affair of such importance, nothing could be done without prayer, he directed his men to "seek the Lord for a way of deliverance and salvation." A part of the day was accordingly spent in prayer, and at the conclusion, Cromwell declared, that while he prayed he felt an enlargement of heart and a buoyancy of spirit which assured him that God had hearkened to their prayers.

While Cromwell and his men were employed in their devotional exercises, a council of war was held by the Scottish commander to deliberate upon the course to be pursued in the present crisis. As Leslie considered himself perfectly secure in his position, which could not be assailed by the enemy without evident risk of a defeat, and as he was apprehensive of a most formidable and desperate resistance should he venture to attack the brave and enthusiastic Independents, who were drawn out within two miles of his camp, he gave as his opinion that the Scottish army should not only remain in its position, but that Cromwell should be allowed to retire into England on certain easy conditions. The officers of the army concurred in the views of the general, but this opinion was overruled by the Committees of the Estates and Kirk, who, anxious to secure their prey,

lest by any possibility it might escape, insisted that the army should descend from the heights and attack the "army of sectaries and blasphemers," which they fully expected the Lord would deliver into their hands; an event which they probably looked for with the greater confidence from a meteor having been observed, on the night of the thirtieth of August, coming out of the north and proceeding in a southeasterly direction, which appeared, to the imagination of those who witnessed it, in the shape of "a fiery-forked sword," an appearance which was doubtless looked upon by the Covenanters as a favourable omen.

In pursuance of the orders of the committees to attack Cromwell early the following morning, Leslie drew down his men on the evening of the second of September from the heights which they occupied to the level ground below, that he might be the sooner ready to commence the attack before the enemy should be fully on their guard. But nothing could escape the penetrating eye of Cromwell, who, though pondering with solicitude upon the difficulties of his situation, was not inattentive to the enemy, whose motions he personally watched with the utmost vigilance and assiduity. During the evening in question he perambulated the gardens adjoining Broxmouth house, a seat of the Earl of Roxburgh, near Dunbar, surveying the Scottish army, but could observe no indications of any movement. He was about retiring for the night, when looking through his glass for the last time that evening, he perceived, to his infinite joy, the Scottish army in motion down the hill. The object of this movement at once occurred to him, and in a rapture of enthusiasm he exclaimed, "They are coming down, the Lord hath delivered them into our hands." The same feeling was communicated by Cromwell to his soldiers, to whom, it is related, he gave an

assurance that a supernatural voice had informed him that he would obtain a victory. A strong spirit of religious enthusiasm had in fact seized both armies, and each considered itself the peculiar favourite of Heaven.

Unfortunately for the Scots their movements were considerably impeded by the state of the weather, which, during the night, became very rainy and tempestuous, and, whether from accident or design, their matches were suffered to be extinguished by the rain. Confident in their numbers, they seem to have disregarded the ordinary rules of military prudence, and such was the slowness of their movements, that they found themselves unexpectedly attacked at the dawn of day before the last of their forces had left the hill where they had been stationed. Cromwell had, during the night, advanced his army to the edge of a deep ravine which had hitherto separated the advanced posts of both parties, along which his troops reposed, waiting in deep silence the order for attack. As soon as Cromwell was enabled by the approach of day to obtain a partial view of the position selected by the Scots, he perceived that the Scottish general had posted a large body of cavalry on his right wing near to a pass on the road from Dunbar to Berwick, with the evident intention of preventing the English from effecting an escape. To this point, therefore, Cromwell directed his attack with the main body of his horse, and some regiments of foot, with which he endeavoured to obtain possession of the pass; but they were charged by the Scottish lancers, who, aided by some artillery, drove them down the hill. Cromwell, thereupon, brought up a reserve of horse and foot and renewed the attack, but was again repulsed. He still persevered, however, and the cavalry were again giving way, when just as the sun was emerging from the ocean, and beginning, through the mist of the

morning, to dart its rays upon the armour of the embattled hosts, he exclaimed with impassioned fervour, in the sublime language of the psalmist: "Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered." In a moment Cromwell's own regiment of foot, to whom his exclamation had been more particularly addressed, advanced with their pikes levelled, the cavalry rallied, and the Scottish horse, as if seized with a panic, turned their backs and fled, producing the utmost confusion among the foot, who were posted in their rear.

As soon as the Scots perceived the defeat and flight of their cavalry, they were seized with a feeling of consternation, and throwing away their arms, sought their safety in flight. They were closely pursued by Cromwell's dragoons, who followed them to the distance of many miles in the direction of Edinburgh, and cut them down without mercy. Out of a force of twenty-seven thousand men, who, a few hours before, had assured themselves of victory, not more than fourteen thousand escaped. Three thousand of the Scots lay lifeless corpses on the fertile plains of East Lothian, and about ten thousand were taken prisoners, of whom not less than fifty-one hundred were wounded. All the ammunition, artillery, and baggage of the Scots army fell into the hands of the conquerors. The loss on the side of Cromwell was trifling, not amounting to more than thirty men killed. The battle of Dunbar took place on the third of September, 1650, and was long familiarly known among the Scots by the name of "the Tyesday's chase."

Cromwell spent the following day at Dunbar writing despatches to the Parliament. He ordered all the wounded to be taken particular care of, and after their wounds were dressed they were released on their parole. The remainder of the prisoners were sent to England, where about two thousand of them died of a pestilential

disease, and the rest were sold as slaves, and sent to the English plantations in the West Indies. Cromwell, of course, now abandoned his intention of returning to England. In furtherance of his design to subject Scotland to his authority, he marched to Edinburgh, which he entered without opposition.

In the meantime, the Scottish horse and the few foot which had escaped from the slaughter of Dunbar were collected together at Stirling. Here the commissioners of the General Assembly held a meeting on the twelfth of September, at which they drew up a "declaration and warning to all the congregations of the Kirk of Scotland," exhorting the people to bear the recent disaster with becoming fortitude, and to humble themselves before God that he might turn away his anger from them. And they ordained a "soleme publicke humiliatione upone the defait of the armey," to be kept throughout the kingdom, for which they assigned thirteen causes, viz., the continued ignorance and profaneness of the land; the manifest provocations of the king's house; the importation by the king of "a great many malignants;" not purging his family "from malignant and profane men;" leaving a most malignant and profane guard of horse about the king; not purging the judicatories and armies "from malignant and scandalous persons;" the exceeding great diffidence of some of the chief leaders of the army, and others, who thought that they could not be saved but by a numerous army; the looseness, insolence, and oppression of many in the army; and the little care taken to preserve the corn; great unthankfulness for former mercies and deliverances; attending to the king's interest "without subordination to religion," etc.; the carnal selfishness and crooked ways of sundry in the judicatories and armies, making no difference between those who feared God, and those who did not

fear him, in the public appointments; and the exceeding great negligence, "in great ones and many others," in performing family worship.

It is probable that this "declaration and warning" had little effect upon the minds of the people, whose enthusiasm had been somewhat cooled by Cromwell's success, and although they did not, perhaps, like their unfortunate countrymen, who were taken captives on the third of September and sent into England, curse the king and clergy for ensnaring them in misery, as Whitelock observes, they could not but look upon the perpetual meddling of the ministers with the affairs of the State, as the real source of all the calamities which had recently befallen the country. As to the king, he had become so thoroughly disgusted with the conduct of the Argyle faction, whose sole object seemed to be to use him as a tool for their own purposes, that he regarded the recent defeat of the Covenanters in the light of a triumph to his cause, which, by destroying the power of Argyle, would pave the way for the due exercise of the royal authority.

The king now entertained the idea of forming a party for himself among the numerous Royalists in the Highlands, for which purpose he opened up a correspondence with Huntly, Moray, and Athole, and other chiefs; but before matters were fully concocted, the negotiation was disclosed to Argyle, who took immediate means to defeat it. Accordingly, on the twenty-seventh of September, the Committee of Estates ordered the whole Cavaliers who still remained about the king's person, with the exception of three, to quit the court within twenty-four hours, and the kingdom in twenty days. As Buckingham was excepted, and as he was known to have disapproved of the king's design, it has been supposed, with some reason, that he was the person who had

made the secret known to Argyle. Sir James Balfour, the Lord Lyon, was entrusted with the execution of this "acte for purging the king's housse," as he terms the order of the Committee of Estates, and he repaired therewith to Perth, where the king then resided, and where he arrived on the third of October. The king desired that nine of the proscribed persons, whose names he underscored in the roll, should be allowed to remain with him till the meeting of Parliament, but the committee refused to comply with his request.

As Charles was to be thus summarily deprived of the society and advice of his friends, he took the resolution of leaving Perth the following day, and retiring to the Highlands among his friends. Accordingly, under the pretence of hawking, he left Perth about half past one o'clock in the afternoon of the fourth of October, accompanied by five of his livery servants in a plain riding dress. To lull suspicion, he rode through the South Inch at a slow pace; but as soon as he cleared it, he set off at a full gallop, and arrived at Dudhope in an hour and a half. From thence he proceeded to Auchter house along with Viscount Dudhope, whence he was conveyed by the Earl of Buchan and the viscount to Cortuquhuy, the seat of the Earl of Airly. After partaking of some refreshment he proceeded the same night up the glen, under the protection of sixty or eighty Highlanders, to a poor cottage, forty-two miles from Perth, belonging to the laird of Clova. Fatigued by such a long journey, he threw himself down on an old mattress, but he had not enjoyed many hours' repose when the house was entered, a little before break of day, by Lieutenant-Colonel Nairne, and Colonel Baynton, an Englishman, who had been sent by Colonel Montgomery in quest of him. Shortly after, Montgomery himself appeared, accompanied by the laird of Scotscraig, who had given

him information of the place of his Majesty's retreat, and Sir Alexander Hope bearing one of the king's hawks. This party advised the king to get on horseback, offered to attend him, and promised to live and die with him if necessary.

Perceiving their intention to carry him back to Perth, the king told Montgomery that he had left Perth in consequence of information he had received from Doctor Fraser, his physician, that it was the intention of the Committee of Estates to have delivered him up to the English, and to hang all his servants. Montgomery assured his Majesty that the statement was false, and that no person but a traitor could have invented it. While this altercation was going on, Dudhope and the Highlanders who attended the king strongly advised him to retire instantly to the mountains, and they gave him to understand that a force of two thousand horse and five thousand foot was waiting for him within the distance of five or six miles ready to execute his orders; but before his Majesty had come to any resolution as to the course he should adopt, two regiments of covenanting horse appeared, on observing whom, says Balfour, "Buchan, Dudhope and ther begerly guard begane to shecke ther eares, and speake more calmley, and in a lower strain." The king thereupon gave his consent to return to Perth, whither he was accordingly conducted by Montgomery at the head of his horse.

This attempt of the king to escape (familiarly known by the name of "the Start") produced a salutary effect upon the Committee of Estates, and they now began to treat him with more respect. They saw that he had grown weary of the state of durance in which they had kept him, and they were apprehensive, should they continue to show him the same disrespect they had hitherto done, that he would seize the first favourable opportunity

of trying another "Start" in order to place himself at the head of the Royalists then organizing in the north. They, therefore, for the first time, admitted him to their deliberations, and they even suspended the act they had issued ordering the English cavaliers to leave the kingdom, in return for which courtesy his Majesty expressed his sorrow that he should have been induced "by the wicked counsel of some men who had deluded him," to leave Perth, and as "he was not a very good orator himself," the lord chancellor, at his request, explained to the committee in a "long narration," the circumstances of his departure from Perth, to which "his Majesty addit that, as he was a Christian, quhen he went first out, that he had na mind to depairt; and he trusted in God it wold be a lessone to him all the dayes of his lyffe."

As a considerable part of the Highlands was now up in arms to support the king, the Committee induced him to write letters to the chief leaders of the insurrection to lay down their arms, which correspondence led to a protracted negotiation. An act of indemnity was passed on the twelfth of October, in favour of the people of Athole, who had taken up arms; but as it was couched in language which they disliked, and contained conditions of which they disapproved, the Earl of Athole and his people presented a petition to his Majesty and the Committee, craving (1) that the word rebellion should be expunged from the pardon, and that a more favourable term should be substituted; (2) that instead of delivering up one, John Robertson, who had killed a lieutenant belonging to Sir John Brown's regiment, the friends of the lieutenant should be compelled to receive an assythment, and that Robertson should be pardoned; (3) that the earl should have the keeping of his own house at Blair, on giving surety for his fidelity.

The Committee of Estates acceded only to the first of these demands.

In order to enforce the orders of the king to the northern Royalists, to lay down their arms, Sir John Brown's regiment was despatched to the north; but they were surprised during the night of the twenty-first of October, and defeated by a party under Sir David Ogilvy, brother to Lord Ogilvy. On receiving this intelligence, General Leslie hastened to Perth from Stirling, and crossed the Tay on the twenty-fourth of October, with a force of three thousand cavalry, with which he was ordered to proceed to Dundee and scour Angus. At this time General Middleton was lying at Forfar, who, on hearing of Leslie's advance, sent him a letter, enclosing a copy of a "bond and oath of engagement" which had been entered into by Huntly, Athole, Seaforth, Middleton, and other individuals, by which they had pledged themselves to join firmly and faithfully together, and neither for fear, threatening, allurement, nor advantage, to relinquish the cause of religion, of the king and of the kingdom, nor to lay down their arms without a general consent; and as the best undertakings often did not escape censure and malice, they promised and swore, for the satisfaction of all reasonable persons, that they would maintain the true religion, as then established in Scotland, the national covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant; and defend the person of the king, his prerogative, greatness, and authority, and the privileges of Parliament, and the freedom of the subject. Middleton stated that Leslie would perceive from the terms of the document enclosed, that the only aim of himself and friends was to unite Scotsmen in defence of their common rights, and that the grounds on which they had entered into the association were precisely the same as those professed

by Leslie himself. As the independence of Scotland was at stake, and as Scotsmen should unite for the preservation of their liberties, he proposed to join Leslie, and to put himself under his command, and he expressed a hope that Leslie would not shed the blood of his countrymen, or force them to the unhappy necessity of shedding the blood of their brethren in self-defence. The negotiation thus begun was finally concluded on the fourth of November at Strathbogie, agreeably to a treaty between Leslie and the chief Royalists, by which the latter accepted an indemnity and laid down their arms.

Cromwell did not follow up his success as might have been expected, but contented himself with laying siege to the castle of Edinburgh, and pushing forward his advanced posts as far as Linlithgow. While at Edinburgh he frequently sermonized his officers in his peculiar strain, exhorting them to brotherly love, to repent from dead works, and to bewail the blindness of their Scottish adversaries, and he opened a theological correspondence with some ministers who had taken refuge in the castle of Edinburgh after the battle of Dunbar, to whom he communicated his views of Independency; but he failed in making any proselytes among these sturdy sons of the kirk, but with all his fondness for theological controversy, in which he considered himself no ordinary adept, a controversy to him of a much more important character than the contest between Independency and Presbytery now presented itself among the Scots, of which he did not fail to avail himself.

Among the leading Covenanters both in Parliament and the Church, there were some whose political ideas were pretty similar to those of Cromwell, respecting monarchical government, and who had not only approved of the execution of the late king, but were de-

sirous of excluding his son from the Crown of Scotland. This party, though a minority, made up for its numerical inferiority by the talents, fanaticism, and restless activity of its partisans; but formidable as their opposition in Parliament was, they found themselves unable effectually to resist the general wish of the nation in favour of the king, and yielded to the force of circumstances. By excluding, however, the Royalists from the camp, and keeping the king in a state of subjection to their authority, they had succeeded in usurping the government, and had the disaster of Dunbar not occurred, might have been enabled to carry their designs against the monarchy into effect; but notwithstanding this catastrophe, they were not discouraged, and as soon as they had recovered from the temporary state of alarm into which the success of Cromwell had thrown them, they began to concert measures, in accordance with a plan they now contemplated, for making themselves altogether independent of Parliament. For this purpose, under the pretence of opposing the common enemy, they solicited and obtained permission from the Committee of Estates to raise forces in the counties of Dumfries, Galloway, Wigton, Air, and Renfrew, the inhabitants of which were imbued with a sterner spirit of fanaticism, and therefore more ready to support their plans, than those of any other parts of Scotland. By bringing in the exhortations of Gillespie and others of the more rigid among the ministers to their aid, they succeeded in a short time in raising a body of nearly five thousand horse, over which Strachan, Kerr, and two other colonels, all mere tools of the party, were placed.

As soon as the leaders of this faction, of whom Johnston of Warriston, the clerk-register, was chief, had collected these levies, they began to develop the plan they had formed of withdrawing themselves from the

control of the Committee of Estates by raising a variety of objections against the line of conduct pursued by the Committee, and, till these were removed, they refused to unite "the western army," as this new force was called, with the army under Leslie. Cromwell, aware of this division in the Scottish army, endeavoured to widen the breach by opening a correspondence with Strachan, who had fought under him at Preston, which had this effect that Strachan soon went over to the English army with a body of troopers. Leslie complained to the Estates of the refusal of the western forces to join him, and solicited to be recalled from his charge, but they declined to receive his resignation, and sent a deputation, consisting of Argyle, Cassilis, and other members, to the western army, "to solicit unity for the good of the kingdom." So unsuccessful, however, was the deputation in bringing about this desired "unity," that, on the seventeenth of October, an elaborate paper, titled, "the humble Remonstrance of the Gentlemen, Commanders, and Ministers attending the forces in the west," addressed to the Committee of Estates, was drawn up and presented by Sir George Maxwell to them, at Stirling, on the twenty-second. In this document the remonstrants professed to inform the Committee "freely and faithfully concerning the causes and remedies of the Lord's indignation," which had gone out against his people, among the first of which they reckoned the backsliding from the covenant, "the great and mother sin of the nation," as the principal. The chief remedy proposed was to remove from the presence of the king, the judicatories and the armies, the "malignants," whom many of the Committee were accused of having received "into intimate friendship," admitting them to their councils, and bringing in some of them to the Parliament and Committees, and about

the king, thereby affording "many pregnant presumptions," of a design on the part of some of the Committee of Estates, "to set up and employ the malignant party," or at least, giving "evidences of a strong inclination to entrust them again in the managing of the work of God." The Committee of Estates paid no regard to this remonstrance, a circumstance which gave such umbrage to Warriston and the leaders of the western army, that they drew up another, couched in still stronger language, on the thirtieth of October, at Dumfries, whither they had retired with the army on a movement made by Cromwell to the west. In this fresh remonstrance the faction declared that as it was now manifest that the king was opposed to the work of God and the covenants, and cleaving to the enemies of both, they would not regard him or his interest in their quarrel with the invaders; that he ought not to be entrusted in Scotland with the exercise of his power till he gave proofs of a real change in his conduct; and that an effectual course ought to be taken for preventing, in time coming, "his conjunction with the malignant party," and for investigating into the cause of his late flight; and that the malignants should be rendered incapable in future of hurting the work and people of God.

A petition having been presented to the Committee of Estates on the nineteenth of November, requiring a satisfactory answer to the first remonstrance, a joint declaration was issued by the king and the Committee on the twenty-fifth, declaring "the said paper, as it related to the Parliament and civil judicatories, to be scandalous and injurious to his Majesty's person, and prejudicial to his authority;" and the commission of the General Assembly having been required to give their opinion upon the remonstrance, in so far as it related to religion and church judicatories, acknowledged that,

although it contained " many sad truths in relation to the sins charged upon the king, his family, and the public judicatories," which they were " resolved to hold out, and press upon them in a right and orderly way," together with such other sins as by impartial search, and the help of the Lord's spirit, on their endeavours therein, they should find, nevertheless, the commission declared itself dissatisfied with the remonstrance, which it considered " apt to breed division in kirk and kingdom." This declaration of the commission was not only approved of by the General Assembly, but what was of equal importance, that venerable body passed a resolution declaring that in such a perilous crisis all Scotsmen might be employed to defend their country. An exception of persons " excommunicated, forfeited, notoriously profane, or flagitious, and professed enemies and opposers of the covenant and cause of God," was no doubt made, but this exemption did not exclude all the " malignants." A breach was now made in the unity of the Scottish church, and the nation was split into two parties, — a division which paved the way for the subjugation of Scotland to the yoke of Cromwell. The party which adhered to the king was distinguished by the name of Resolutioners, and the others were denominated Protesters, a distinction which was kept up for several years.

Nothing could be more gratifying to Cromwell than to see the Scots thus divided among themselves, and keeping up two distinct armies in the field, mutually opposed to each other. He had by negotiation and intrigue contributed to increase the irritation between the two parties, and he had even succeeded in sowing the seeds of dissension among the leaders of the western army itself. Strachan, his old friend, had resigned the command which had been conferred on Kerr, who was

by no means hearty in the cause. In this situation of matters Cromwell resolved, in the meantime, to confine his attention to the operations of the western army, with the intention, if he succeeded in defeating it, of marching north with the whole of his forces, and attacking the royal army. As the castle of Edinburgh was still in the hands of the Covenanters, Cromwell could only spare a force of about seven thousand horse, which he accordingly sent west about the end of November, under Lambert, to watch Kerr's motions. Intelligence of this movement was received by the Parliament then sitting at Perth, on the thirtieth of November, in consequence of which Colonel Robert Montgomery was despatched with three regiments to support the western army, the command of which he was requested by the Parliament to take; and, to enforce this order, the committee on military affairs was directed to send a deputation to the western forces to intimate to them the command of the Parliament. Before the arrival, however, of Montgomery, Kerr was defeated on the first of December, in an attack he made on Lambert at Hamilton, in which he himself was taken prisoner, and the whole of his forces dispersed. This victory gave Cromwell quiet possession of the whole of Scotland, south of the Clyde and the Forth, with the exception of Stirling, and a small tract around it; and as the castle of Edinburgh surrendered on the twenty-fourth of December, Stirling castle was the only fortress of any note, south of the Forth, which remained in the possession of the Royalists at the close of the year.

A considerable time, however, elapsed before Cromwell found himself in a condition to commence his intended campaign beyond the Forth. His inactivity is to be ascribed partly to an ague with which he was seized in February, and which had impaired his health

so much that in May he obtained permission to return to England to recruit his debilitated constitution; but a sudden and favourable change having taken place in the state of his health, he gladly remained with the army, which he put in motion towards Stirling on the third of July, 1651.

The Scottish Parliament was fully aware of the impending danger, and made the necessary preparations to meet it, but the engagers and the party of Argyle did not always draw together; yet the king had the address, by his accommodating and insinuating behaviour, to smooth down many differences, and thus prepared the way for that ascendency which his friends, the Hamiltons, afterward obtained. The coronation of the king took place at Scone, on the first of January, 1651, in pursuance of an order of the Parliament. His conduct on that occasion added greatly to his growing popularity. The first trial of strength, to borrow a modern parliamentary phrase, which took place in the Parliament, was on the twenty-third of December, 1650, on the nomination of colonels to the different horse and foot regiments then in the course of being raised. A list of them had been submitted to the House on the twentieth, which contained about an equal number of Royalists and Covenanters. This gave rise to a long debate, but the list was finally approved of. On the following day, however, the lord chancellor (Loudon) protested against the nomination, on the ground that some of the persons appointed had served under Montrose, while others were "engagers." A conference of the House "for removing of jealousies and prejudices in the business of the nomination of colonels," was in consequence ordered, and the Parliament having met on the twenty-third, the House resolved itself into a committee for a conference, and adjourned for

half an hour. The conference, however, came to nothing, and when the House resumed its sitting a motion was made by the Covenanting party that the names of the Lords Erskine, Drummond, and Ogilvy should be struck off the list of colonels, which being put to the vote, was negatived.

Among the colonels of foot were the Earls of Athole and Tulliebardine, and the master of Gray for Perth, the lairds of Maclean and Ardkinlass for Argyle and Bute; the laird of Grant and the sheriff of Moray for Nairne, Elgin, and "Grant's Lands;" the lairds of Pluscardine, Balnagowan, the master of Lovat, and the laird of Lumlair, for Inverness and Ross; Lord Sutherland and Henry Mackay of Skowrie, for Sutherland and Strathnaver; the master of Caithness for Caithness; and Duncan Macpherson for Badenoch. The clans in the Highlands and the Isles were to be commanded respectively by Macdonald, the tutor of Macleod, Clan Ranald the tutor of Keppoch, the laird of Lochaber, the tutor of Maclean, Lochiel, Macneil of Barra, Lauchlane Macintosh, and the laird of Jura.

Argyle and his party made several attempts, afterward, to check the rising influence of the Hamiltons, by opposing the different plans submitted to the Parliament for rendering the army more efficient, but they were outvoted. The finishing blow was given to their hopes by the appointment of the king to the chief command of the army, and by the repeal of the "act of classes," which excluded the Royalists from having any share in the administration of the affairs of the kingdom, and from serving their country.

In expectation of Cromwell's advance, the Scots had raised, during the spring, strong fortifications along the fords of the River Forth, to obstruct his passage, and had entrenched themselves at the Torwood, having the

town of Stirling at their back, in which position Cromwell found them when he advanced west in July. As he considered it dangerous to attempt to carry such a strong position in the face of an army of about twenty thousand men (for such it is said was the number of the Scots), he endeavoured, by marches and countermarches, to draw them out; but although they followed his motions, they took care not to commit themselves, by going too far from their lines of defence. Seeing no chance of bringing them to a general engagement, Cromwell adopted the bold plan of crossing the Frith of Forth at Queensferry, and of throwing himself into the rear of the Scottish army. While, therefore, he continued, by his motions along the Scottish lines, to draw off the attention of the Scottish commanders from his plan, he, on the twentieth of July, sent over Lambert, with a large division of his army, in a number of boats which had been provided for the occasion. He landed without opposition and proceeded immediately to fortify himself on the hill between the North Ferry and Inverkeithing. General Holburn was immediately despatched with a large force to keep Lambert in check. The parties encountered each other on the twentieth of July, and the Scots, though they fought with great bravery, were defeated. A body of Highlanders particularly distinguished themselves. The loss of the Scots was considerable; and among the slain were the young chief of Maclean and about a hundred of his friends and followers. This victory opened a free passage to Cromwell to the north of Scotland. He immediately, therefore, crossed the Forth, with the remainder of his army, and proceeded to Perth, of which he took possession on the second of August.

While the Scottish leaders were puzzled how to ex-

tricate themselves from the dilemma into which they had been thrown by the singular change which had lately taken place in the relative position of the two armies, the king alone seemed free from embarrassment, and at once proposed to his generals, that, instead of following Cromwell, or waiting till he should attack them, they should immediately invade England, where he expected to be joined by numerous Royalists, who only required his presence among them at the head of such an army, to declare themselves. Under existing circumstances, the plan, though at once bold and decisive, was certainly judicious, and, therefore, it is not surprising that it should have received the approbation of the chiefs of the army. Having obtained their concurrence, the king immediately issued a proclamation on the thirtieth of July, to the army, announcing his intention of marching for England the following day, accompanied by such of his subjects as were willing to give proofs of their loyalty by sharing his fortunes. This appeal was not made in vain, and Charles found himself next morning in full march on the road to Carlisle, at the head of eleven, or, as some accounts state, of fourteen thousand men. Argyle, as was to be expected, excused himself from accompanying the army, and obtained permission to retire to his castle.

Although Cromwell was within almost a day's march of the Scottish army, yet, so sudden and unexpected had been its departure, and so secretly had the whole affair been managed, that it was not until the fourth of August that he received the extraordinary intelligence of its departure for England. Cromwell was now as much embarrassed as the Scottish commanders had lately been, for he had not the most distant idea when he threw himself so abruptly into their rear, that they would adopt the bold resolution of marching into

England. As soon, however, as he had recovered from the surprise into which such an alarming event had thrown him, he despatched letters to the Parliament, assuring them of his intention to follow the Scots army without delay, and exhorting them not to be discouraged, but to rely on his activity. He also sent Lambert with a force of three thousand cavalry to harass the rear of the Scots army, and forwarded orders to Harrison, who was then at Newcastle, to press upon their flank with a similar number; and, in a few days, he himself crossed the Forth with an army of ten thousand men and proceeded along the eastern coast, in the direction of York, leaving Monk behind him with a force of five thousand horse and foot to complete the reduction of Scotland.

The Scottish army made a rapid march, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Warrington on the sixteenth of August. Here Lambert and Harrison, who had just met at Warrington, and whose united forces amounted to nine thousand men, resolved to dispute the passage of the Mersey, but the Scottish army had passed the bridge before their arrival. A few charges ensued, and Lambert and Harrison, in expectation of a general engagement, drew up their forces on Knutsford heath; but the king declined battle, and continued his march towards Worcester, which he entered on the twenty-second. A number of the country gentlemen, who were confined in that city on account of their loyalty, welcomed the king with the warmest congratulations, and he was immediately proclaimed by the mayor with great solemnity, amidst the rejoicings of the Royalists.

The approach of the Scottish army filled the minds of the English Parliamentary leaders with dismay, and they at first imagined that a private arrangement had been made between Cromwell and the king; but their apprehensions were soon relieved, by the receipt of

Cromwell's despatches, and by a proclamation which the king had issued on entering England, promising pardon to all his subjects, with the exception of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Cook. As soon as the alarm had subsided, measures, the most active and strong, were adopted by Cromwell's council, to meet the pressing emergency. They proclaimed the king and his supporters guilty of high treason, and the declaration of the king was burned in London, by the hands of the hangman. All persons suspected of loyalty were either confined, or narrowly watched, and death was declared to be the penalty of those who should enter into any correspondence with the king. Bodies of militia were instantly raised in several counties, and marched off to the aid of the regular forces. Had these exertions been met by similar efforts on the part of the English Royalists, the cause of the king might have triumphed, but so sudden and unexpected had been the arrival of the king, that they were quite unprepared to receive him, and the measures of the leaders at Westminster were so prompt and energetic, that they had not sufficient time to collect their scattered strength, or to concert any combined plan of operations. Yet notwithstanding these difficulties, a pretty considerable force might have been drawn together, but for the fanaticism of the Scots, who would not, contrary to the order of the king, allow any auxiliaries to join them, who had not taken the covenant.

When Charles, therefore, arrived at Worcester, he found that he had obtained no accession of force on his march, and he even found that his little army had been reduced by desertion. To increase the army he issued a proclamation, calling upon all his male subjects, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, to join his standard at a general muster to be held on the twenty-sixth

of August; but little attention was paid to the order, and when the day of muster arrived, he found that his army amounted to about twelve thousand men only, including about two thousand Englishmen. To attack this force, large bodies of troops were concentrating near Worcester, and on the twenty-eighth of August, when Cromwell arrived to take the command, the army of the republic amounted to upwards of thirty thousand men, who hailed the presence of their commander with rapture.

The lord general now perceived that the time had arrived for striking a decisive blow; but as the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar was near at hand, he resolved to defer his grand attack till that day, so fortunate for his arms, and, in the meantime, employed himself in a series of operations for hemming in the Royal army, in the course of which several brilliant affairs took place with alternate success. At last, on the morning of the third of September, 1651, just twelve months after the defeat of the Scots at Dunbar, Cromwell, after reminding his troops of the victory they had achieved on that auspicious day, put his army in motion. The first movement was made by Fleetwood, who having advanced from Upton to Powick, proceeded towards the Team, the passage of which he was ordered to force, and to keep up a communication with him, Cromwell threw a bridge of boats across the Severn at Buns hill, near the confluence of the two rivers. A discharge of musketry in the direction of Powick about one in the afternoon, when the king and his staff were observing the position of the enemy from the tower of the cathedral, was the first intimation they received of Cromwell's attack. The party immediately descended, and the king, at the head of a party of horse and foot under the command of Montgomery, flew forward to

oppose the advance of Fleetwood's brigade across the Team. A furious contest took place, but the steadiness and perseverance of Fleetwood's men overcame all opposition; yet although they effected the passage of the river, and were afterward aided by four regiments which Cromwell sent to their assistance, the Scots disputed every inch of ground, and repeatedly charged the enemy with the pike.

While this sanguinary struggle was going on, Cromwell, after securing the communication across the Severn by the bridge of boats which he threw over it, advanced to Perry wood and Red hill, and directed a fire to be opened from a battery of heavy guns upon a fortification named Fort Royal, which had been recently raised to cover the Sidbury gate of the city. This movement, which isolated the divisions of Fleetwood and Cromwell from each other by the interposition of the Severn, seemed to the king a favourable opportunity for attacking that of Cromwell with success, whilst the other was kept in check on the opposite bank. He, therefore, immediately drew together the remainder of his infantry, with which and the Duke of Hamilton's troop of horse, and the English volunteers, he attacked the division under Cromwell. The king himself at the head of the Highlanders, whom he commanded in person, fought with great bravery. His example animated his troops, who drove back the enemy's vanguard, consisting of some regiments of militia, and captured their cannon. Had Leslie come up with his cavalry as was expected, the defeat of Cromwell would have been inevitable, but that officer, from some cause or other, never explained, unfortunately remained in the city and did not make his appearance till Cromwell, who brought up a large body of veteran troops which he had placed in reserve, had repulsed the Royalists, who,

unable to rally, were fleeing in confusion towards Fort Royal, to seek for protection under its guns. The fugitives entered the city in great disorder, and the king succeeded in rallying them in Friar Street; but although he tried every means which circumstances could admit of, to raise their drooping spirits, he could not prevail upon them to stand firm, and many threw away their arms and fled. In a fit of despair he exclaimed: "Then shoot me dead rather than let me live to see the sad consequences of this day."

In the meantime Fleetwood, after dispersing the division opposed to him, took St. Johns, and Cromwell afterward carried Fort Royal by storm, and put its defenders to the sword. The utmost confusion now prevailed in the city, which was still farther increased by the entrance of Cromwell's troops, who poured into it by the quay, the castle hill, and the Sidbury gate. The situation of the king became critical in the extreme, and his friends advised him to provide immediately for his own safety, as no time was to be lost; he, therefore, instantly threw himself among the Scottish cavalry, and whilst, thus surrounded, he was effecting his escape by the gate of St. Martin's to the north, the Earl of Cleveland, Sir James Hamilton, Colonel Careless, and a few other devoted adherents at the head of some determined troopers, charged the enemy in their advance in the contrary direction up Sidbury Street, and checked them effectually till the king was out of danger.

This battle, which Cromwell admits "was as stiff a contest for four or five hours as ever he had seen," was very disastrous to the Royalists, three thousand of whom were killed on the spot, and a considerably larger number taken prisoners, and even the greater part of the cavalry, who escaped from the city, were afterward taken by detachments of the enemy. The Duke of

Hamilton was mortally wounded in the field of battle, and the Earls of Derby, Lauderdale, Rothes, Cleveland, and Kelly; the Lords Sinclair, Kenmure and Grandison, and the Generals Leslie, Middleton, Massey and Montgomery, were successively made prisoners after the battle. When the king considered himself free from immediate danger, he separated, during the darkness of the night, from the body of cavalry which surrounded him, and with a party of sixty horse proceeded to Whiteladies, a house belonging to one Giffard, a recusant and Royalist, at which he arrived at an early hour in the morning, after a ride of twenty-five miles. Here commenced, on the same day, the first of those extraordinary adventures which befell the king, accompanied by a series of the most singular hair-breadth escapes, as related by the historians of the period, between the third of September and the seventeenth of October, the day on which he landed in safety at Fecamp in Normandy.

CHAPTER VI

RESTORATION OF CHARLES

While Cromwell was following the king through England, Monk proceeded to complete the subjugation of Scotland. He first laid siege to Stirling castle, into which he threw shells from the batteries he had raised, the explosion of which so alarmed the Highlanders who composed the garrison, that they forced the governor to surrender. All the records of the kingdom, the royal robes, and part of the regalia, which had been locked up in the castle as a place of perfect security, fell into the hands of the captors, and were sent by Monk to England. He next proceeded to Dundee, which was strongly fortified, and well garrisoned, and contained within it an immense quantity of costly furniture and plate, besides a large sum of money, all of which had been lodged in the town for safety. After arriving in the neighbourhood of Dundee, information was brought to him that the Committees of Estates and the Kirk were sitting at Ellet in Angus. Monk, thereupon, despatched five hundred horse under the command of Colonels Alured and Morgan, who entered Ellet at four o'clock in the morning of Thursday, the twenty-eighth of August, and surprised the whole party and made them prisoners, along with several gentlemen of the neighbourhood. Among those taken were old Leslie, Earl of Leven, the Earl of Crawford, the earl marshal, Lord James Ogilvy, Sirs Adam Hepburn and James Foulis, the lairds of Ormiston and Pourie, and

eight ministers, all of whom were shipped at Broughty and sent prisoners to England. It is said that one Buchan who held the commission of "scout-master" in the Scottish army, conducted the English cavalry to Ellet by a private road, to prevent their escape being discovered.

When the necessary preparations for an assault had been completed, Monk sent a summons to Lumsden, the governor of Dundee, to surrender, but he rejected it with disdain. The obstinacy of Lumsden exasperated Monk, who ordered his troops to storm the town, and to put the garrison and all the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, to the sword. The town was accordingly carried by assault on the first of September, and was followed by all the horrors which an infuriated soldiery could inflict upon a defenceless population. The townsmen gave no aid to the garrison, and when the republican troops entered the town, they found the greater part of them lying drunk in the streets. The carnage was stayed, but not until eight hundred males, including the greater part of the garrison, and about two hundred women and children were killed. Among the slain was Lumsden, the governor, who, although he had quarter given him by Captain Kelly, was nevertheless shot dead by Major Butler as Kelly was conducting him along the street to Monk. Besides the immense booty which was in the town, about sixty ships which were in the harbour of Dundee, with their cargoes, fell into the hands of the English.

The capture of Dundee was immediately followed by the voluntary surrender of St. Andrews, Montrose, and Aberdeen. Some of the Committee of Estates, who had been absent from Ellet, held a meeting at Inverury, to deliberate on the state of matters, at which the Marquis of Huntly presided, and at which a motion was

made, to invest him with full authority, to act in the absence of the king; but the meeting broke up on hearing of Monk's approach. The committee retired across the Spey, but Huntly went to Strathdon along with his forces. Monk did not proceed farther north than Aberdeen at this time.

The Marquis of Argyle, who had given great offence to Cromwell, by his double dealing, seeing now no chance of opposing successfully the republican arms, made an attempt at negotiation, and sent a letter by a trumpeter to Monk, proposing a meeting at some convenient place, "as a means to stop the shedding of more Christian blood." The only answer which Monk gave to the messenger, who arrived at Dundee on the nineteenth of October, was, that he could not treat without orders from the Parliament of England. This refusal on the part of Monk to negotiate was a sore disappointment to Argyle, as it disappointed the hopes he entertained of getting the English government to acknowledge a debt which he claimed from them.

Monk now turned his whole attention to the state of matters in the north, where some forces were still on foot, under the respective commands of the Marquis of Huntly and Lord Balcarras. With the former he concluded an agreement on the twenty-first of November, under which Huntly consented to disband his men; and on the third of December, a similar treaty was entered into between Balcarras and Colonels Overton and Lilburn. Shortly after the English army crossed the Spey and entered Inverness, where they planted a garrison; so that before the end of the year, the whole of the Lowlands and a part of the Highlands had submitted to the arms of the republic. To complete the destruction of the independence of Scotland, a destruction accomplished less by the power of her enemy, than by the perversity

of her sons, and to reduce it to a province of England, the English army was augmented to twenty thousand men, and citadels erected in several towns, and a long chain of military stations drawn across the country to curb the inhabitants. All the Crown lands were declared public property by the English Parliament, and the estates of all persons who had joined in the English invasions, under the king and the Duke of Hamilton, were confiscated by the same authority. An exception was, however, made in favour of those engaged in trade, whose property did not exceed £5 value; and of persons not so engaged, who were worth no more than £100. A proclamation was issued, abolishing all authority not derived from the English Parliament; all persons holding public appointments, whose fidelity to the new order of things was suspected, were dismissed, and their places supplied by others of more subservient principles; and the supreme courts of justice were abolished, and English judges appointed to discharge the judicial functions, aided by a few natives.

As several bodies of Highlanders still remained under arms in the interior of the Highlands, Monk directed three distinct parties to cross the mountains, simultaneously, in the summer of 1652. While Colonel Lilburn advanced from Inverness towards Lochaber on one side, General Dean led his troops from Perth in the same direction on the other, and Colonel Overton landed in Kintyre with a force from Ayr. But they were all obliged speedily to retrace their steps, amid the jeers and laughter of the Highlanders.[13]

The administration of the affairs of Scotland was committed to Monk, than whom a more prudent person, and better calculated to disarm the indignant feelings of the Scots at their national degradation, could not have been selected. But as it was evident that order

could not be restored, or obedience enforced, as long as the clergy were allowed to continue their impertinent meddling in state affairs, and to which all the calamities which had befallen the kingdom were to be attributed, he prohibited the meetings of the General Assembly, and, in one instance, dispersed that body by a military force. In doing so, it was afterward admitted by some of the clergy themselves,[14] that he had acted wisely, as the shutting up of the Assembly tended greatly to allay those fierce contentions between the Protesters and Resolutioners, which, for several years, distracted the nation, and made them attend more to the spiritual concerns of their flock.[15] The spirit of dissension was not, however, confined to the clergy, but extended its withering influence to many of the laity, who, to gratify their revenge, accused one another of the most atrocious crimes before the newly constituted tribunal. The English judges were called to decide upon numerous acts alleged to have been committed twenty or thirty years before, of which no proofs were offered, but extorted confessions in the kirk, and no less than sixty persons were brought before them accused of witchcraft, who had been tortured into an admission of its practices. All these cases were dismissed, and the new judges administered the laws throughout with an equity and moderation which was almost unknown before in Scotland, and which formed a singular contrast with the disregard of justice, and the extreme violence which had of late disgraced the Scottish tribunals.

With a short interruption, occasioned by an insurrection, under the Earl of Glencairn, in the Highlands, Scotland now enjoyed tranquillity till the restoration of Charles II, and comparative prosperity and happiness, a compensation in some degree for the loss of her liberties. The interruption alluded to took place in the

year 1653, on the departure of Monk from Scotland to take the command of the English fleet, of which interruption the following are the details:

In the month of August, 1653, a meeting was held at Lochearn, which was attended by Glencairn, the Earl of Athole, Lord Lorn, eldest son of the Marquis of Argyle, Glengarry, Lochiel, Graham of Deuchrie, Macgregor, tutor of Macgregor, Farquharson of Inverey, Robertson of Strowan, Macnaughton of Macnaughton, and Colonel Blackadder of Tullyallan. At this meeting, which continued several days, it was ultimately agreed that the persons present should assemble their vassals and dependents with as little delay as possible, and place themselves under the command of Glencairn, who was to wait in the neighbourhood of Lochearn till the different parties should collect, and bring together their respective forces. Six weeks were, however, allowed to expire before any assemblage took place, during all which time Glencairn roamed through the neighbouring mountains, attended only by one companion and three servants. The first who made his appearance was Graham of Deuchrie, at the head of forty men. He was followed, in two or three days, by the tutor of Macgregor, and eighty of that clan. With this force he went to Deuchrie house, where he was joined by Lord Kenmure, and about forty horsemen from the west, and by Colonel Blackadder, with thirty more whom he had raised in Fife. The laird of Macnaughton also arrived with twelve horse, and a party of between sixty and eighty Lowlanders, under the command of Captain Hamilton, brother to the laird of Milntown. The earl's force thus amounted to nearly three hundred men.

On hearing of the assemblage of this body, Colonel Kidd, the governor of Stirling castle, at the head of the

greater part of a regiment of foot, and a troop of horse, marched towards Aberfoyle, which was within three miles of Glencairn's camp; but having received notice of his approach, the earl took care to secure the adjoining pass. He posted his foot to the best advantage on both sides, and he drew up the horse under Lord Kenmure in the centre. Although Kidd must have perceived the great risk he would run in attempting to carry the pass, he nevertheless made the attempt, but his advance was driven back at the first charge by the Lowlanders and Deuchrie's men, with whom they first came in contact, with the loss of about sixty men. The whole of Kidd's party, thereupon, turned their backs and fled. They were hotly pursued by Glencairn's horse and foot, who killed about eighty of them.

The news of Kidd's defeat, trifling as it was, raised the hopes of the Royalists, and small parties of Highlanders flocked daily to Glencairn's standard. Leaving Aberfoyle, he marched to Lochearn, and thence to Loch Rannoch where he was met by several of the clans. Glengarry brought three hundred, Lochiel four hundred, and Macgregor about two hundred men. The Earl of Athole appeared at the head of a hundred horse, and brought also a regiment of foot, consisting of about twelve hundred men, commanded by Andrew Drummond, brother to Sir James Drummond of Mechaney, as his lieutenant-colonel. Sir Arthur Forbes and some officers, with about eighty horsemen, also joined the royal army.

Having despatched some officers to the Lowlands, with instructions to raise forces, Glencairn marched north to join Farquharson of Inverey, who was raising a regiment in Cromar. In the course of his march, several gentlemen of the adjoining country joined him. Morgan, the English general, who was lying at the time

in Aberdeen, being apprised of Farquharson's movements, collected a force of two thousand foot and one thousand horse, with which he advanced, by forced marches, toward Cromar, and a brisk attack upon the outposts of Glencairn's army was the first intelligence they received of Morgan's approach. In the situation in which Glencairn thus found himself unexpectedly placed, he had no remedy but an immediate retreat through a long and narrow glen leading to the forest of Abernethy, which he was enabled to reach chiefly by the bravery of Graham of Deuchrie, who, at the head of a resolute party of forty men, kept in check a body of the enemy who had entered the glen before the Royalists, and prevented them from securing the passes. Morgan pursued the fugitives through the glen very closely, and did not desist till prevented by the darkness of the night. He thereafter returned to Aberdeen.

Glencairn passed about five weeks in Cromar and Badenoch, waiting for additional reinforcements; and as Lord Lorn had not yet joined him, he despatched Lord Kenmure with a hundred horse into Argyleshire to urge him to hurry forward the levies in that quarter. Lorn soon arrived in Badenoch with a thousand foot and about fifty horse; but he had not remained above a fortnight in the field when, on some pretence or other, he clandestinely left the army, and carried off his men along with him, taking the direction of Ruthven castle, which was then garrisoned by English troops. Glencairn was greatly exasperated at Lorn's defection, and sent a party of horse, under the command of Glengarry and Lochiel, with instructions either to bring him and his men back to the army, or, in case of refusal, to attack them. Glengarry followed the Campbells so hard that he came up with them within half a mile

of the castle. Lord Lorn escaped, and was followed by his horse, of whom about twenty were brought back by a party sent in pursuit by Glengarry; the foot halted on a hill, and offered to return to the camp. Glengarry, who had imbibed a great antipathy at the whole race of the Campbells ever since Montrose's wars, would, contrary to his instructions, have attacked them; but Glencairn fortunately arrived in time to prevent bloodshed, and having ordered Graham of Deuchrie to acquaint them that he could not receive any proposals from them with arms in their hands, they delivered them up. Glencairn, along with some officers, then rode up to them, and having addressed them on the impropriety of their conduct, they all declared their willingness to serve the king and to obey him as their commander, a declaration which both officers and men confirmed with an oath. Their arms were then restored to them, but they all deserted within a fortnight.

About this time Glencairn was joined by a small party of English Royalists, under Colonel Wogan, an enterprising officer, who had landed at Dover, and having raised a body of volunteers in London, traversed England under the banners of the commonwealth, and entered Scotland by Carlisle.

Notwithstanding the desertions of the Campbells, Glencairn's army was so increased by daily accessions of force that he considered himself in a condition to cope with the enemy, and, by the advice of his officers, resolved to descend into Aberdeenshire, and beat up the quarters of the English. Another reason which urged him to leave the Highlands was a scarcity of provisions in the districts which had been occupied by his army, and which could no longer afford to support such a large body of men. Descending by Balveny, he took up his quarters at Whitelums, near the castle of Kil-

drummie, belonging to the Earl of Mar, then garrisoned by the English. After lying about a fortnight at Whitelums unmolested, Glencairn raised his camp, and marching into Morayshire, took possession of Elgin, where he established his headquarters. Here he was joined by the Marquis of Montrose, Lord Forrrester, and some country gentlemen.

After spending a month at Elgin, where, according to Graham of Deuchrie's narrative, the army had "very good quarters, and where they made themselves merry," the earl received letters from General Middleton, who had sometime before made his escape from the tower of London, where he had been imprisoned after the battle of Worcester, announcing his arrival in Sutherland, with a commission from the king, appointing him generalissimo of all the royal forces in Scotland. Some dissensions had existed among the Royalists respecting the chief command of the army, which had been finally conceded to Glencairn; but neither he, nor the nobility who were with him, were prepared to expect that the king would have appointed a man so much their inferior in station as Middleton was to such an important charge. The intelligence was accordingly received with discontent by these feudal sovereigns; but, as the king's commission could not, without serious injury to the royal cause, be disputed, in the present conjuncture they stifled their displeasure, and Glencairn, in terms of the instructions he had received from Middleton to march north, put his army in motion. Morgan, the English commander, having drawn together a body of troops, followed Glencairn, between whose rear and Morgan's advanced guard many warm skirmishes took place. In his march north, Glencairn tarried a short time before Lethen house, which he summoned its proprietor to surrender for behoof of the king; but he refused to do so,

and fired upon the besiegers, of whom four of five were killed. Exasperated at the loss of his men, Glencairn ordered his troops to fill the courts and gates of the house with some stacks of corn which stood in the adjoining enclosures, and to set fire to them, with the intention of stifling the besieged with the smoke. This was promptly obeyed, but it failed of its intended effect, and Glencairn had the mortification to lose three or four additional men in this absurd enterprise. In revenge for this disappointment, he burnt the stack-yards, and wasted all the lands around the castle belonging to the refractory laird.

Glencairn, thereupon, continued his march, and his men crossed the River Ness, eight miles above Inverness. The horses were made to swim over. The earl, having placed guards along the northern bank of the river to watch the approach of the enemy, hastened to Dornoch to meet Middleton. In a few days a grand muster of the army took place, which was ascertained to amount to 3,500 foot and 1,500 horse. Glencairn then resigned the command to Middleton, in presence of the army, and, riding along the lines, acquainted the troops that he was no longer their general, and expressed a hope that they would find themselves happy in serving under such a commander as Middleton. The troops expressed great dissatisfaction at this announcement by their looks, and some, " both officers and soldiers, shed tears, and vowed that they would serve with their old general in any corner of the world."

After the review, the earl gave a sumptuous entertainment to Middleton and the principal officers of the army, at which an occurrence took place which soured the temper of the officers, and sowed the seeds of new divisions in the camp. On the cloth being removed, Glencairn proposed the health of the commander-in-

chief, whom he thus addressed: "My lord general, you see what a gallant army these worthy gentlemen here present and I have gathered together, at a time when it could hardly be expected that any number durst meet together. These men have come out to serve his Majesty, at the hazard of their lives and all that is dear to them. I hope, therefore, you will give them all the encouragement to do their duty that lies in your power." Scarcely had these words been uttered when Sir George Munro, who had come over with Middleton from France to act as his lieutenant-general, started up from his seat, and addressing himself to the earl, swore by G— that the men he had that day seen were nothing but a number of thieves and robbers, and that ere long he would bring a very different set of men into the field. These imprudent observations called up Glengarry, but he was restrained by Glencairn, who said that he was more concerned in the affront put upon the army by Munro than he was, and, turning to Munro, he thus addressed him: "You, Sir, are a base liar; for they are neither thieves nor robbers, but brave gentlemen and good soldiers." A meeting took place in consequence early next morning between Glencairn and Munro, about two miles to the south of Dornoch. The former was accompanied by a servant named White, and the latter by his brother, Alexander Munro. The parties were both mounted on horseback, and it was agreed, that after discharging pistols at each other, they should fight with broadswords. They accordingly fired, but without effect, and immediately began the combat with their swords. Sir George, after a few passes, received a severe wound on the bridle hand. Fearing that he could no longer manage his horse, he called out to the earl that as he was wounded in his left hand he hoped he would allow him to fight on foot.

"Yes," exclaimed the earl, "I will show you that I can match you either on foot or on horseback." They then dismounted, and renewed the contest; but Munro, at the first onset, received a severe cut in the forehead, from which the blood issued so copiously as to obscure his vision, and prevent him from following the motions of his adversary. Glencairn was just about running Munro through the body, but was prevented by White, who forced up his sword. The parties then returned to headquarters, when Glencairn was put under arrest in his chamber, by orders of Middleton, and his sword taken from him.

The partiality thus shown to Munro, who was the aggressor, and who had sent the challenge to Glencairn, was exceedingly mortifying to the earl, which being followed by another affair which soon took place, and in which the same partiality was displayed, made him resolve to retire from the army. The occurrence was this: A dispute having taken place on the merits of the recent quarrel between a Captain Livingston, a friend of Munro, and a gentleman of the name of Lindsay, who had accompanied Lord Napier from the continent, in which Livingston maintained that Munro had acted properly, and the contrary insisted upon by Lindsay, mutual challenges were given, and the parties met on the links of Dornoch to decide the dispute by the sword. Lindsay, being a superior swordsman, ran Livingston through the heart at the first thrust, and he expired immediately. Lindsay was immediately apprehended, and although Glencairn, backed by other officers, used every exertion to save him, he was brought to trial before a court-martial, by order of Middleton, and condemned to be shot at the cross of Dornoch, a sentence which was carried into execution the same day.

These unfortunate disputes divided the officers of

the army into two parties, and afforded but a sorry prognostic of the prospects of the Royalists. Glencairn, no longer able to curb his displeasure, slipped off about a fortnight after Lindsay's death, with his own troop of horse, and a few gentlemen volunteers, — a hundred horse in all, — and took the direction of Assint. The laird of Assint, who had betrayed Montrose, on the arrival of Glencairn's party on his lands, offered to assist him to secure the passes, so as to prevent him from being overtaken that night, of which offer Glencairn, though distrustful of Macleod, agreed to accept. Middleton indeed sent a party in pursuit, but they did not come up with Glencairn, who reached Kintail the following day, where he was well received by the Earl of Seaforth's people. He remained there a few days, and afterward traversed the Highlands till he arrived at Killin, at the head of Loch Tay, where he was successively joined by Sir George Maxwell, the Earl of Selkirk, and Lord Forrester, each of whom brought a small party of horse along with them, by which additions his force was increased to four hundred horsemen. The earl now appears, for the first time, to have seen the impropriety of his conduct in withdrawing from the army; but as he could not endure the idea of returning himself, he endeavoured to make some reparation by sending this body north to join Middleton, and sought a retreat with the laird Luss at his castle of Rosedoe, where he despatched some officers to raise men in the Lowlands for the king's service.

In the meantime Monk had returned to Scotland, and had brought along with him a strong reinforcement of troops from England, with which he joined Morgan in the north, and marched directly into the Highlands in search of Middleton. It was the intention of the latter to have remained for some time in the Highlands,

and to have collected all the forces he possibly could, and to make occasional descents upon the Lowlands, and by marches and countermarches to have distracted the enemy; but the advance of Monk into the very bosom of the Highlands, with a large army, frustrated his design. Middleton soon found himself sorely pressed by his able adversary, who brought forward his army in separate divisions, yet not so isolated as not to be able to support each other in case of attack. In an attempt to elude his pursuers, Middleton was surprised in a defile near Lochgarry, by one of these divisions under the command of Morgan. His men were either slain or dispersed, and he himself escaped with difficulty. The chiefs of the insurrection immediately made their peace with Monk, who treated them with great lenity.

Whilst the Scottish Royalists were making an ineffectual attempt to free their country from the yoke of Cromwell, the king appeared to take little concern in the matter, and spent the greater part of his time in indolence and amusement at Paris. Though straitened in his pecuniary circumstances, and wholly dependent upon the liberality of the French king and the eleemosynary aid of his friends in England, he still retained about him the officers of his household and thus kept up the appearance, at least, of a court. The gaieties of the French capital were so congenial to the disposition of the king as to make the supposition probable, that the longer he remained there the more indifferent he would have become to his own interests and those of his people; but a change of residence to Cologne, whence he had been induced to remove on a negotiation being entered into with Cromwell, by Cardinal Mazarin, made him think more seriously of the affairs of his kingdoms.

During his retreat at Cologne a rupture took place between England and Spain, of which the king endeavoured immediately to avail himself with the view of forwarding his restoration. There were, at this time, several English and Irish regiments in the French service, which he proposed to call from France, and with these, aided by such succours as Spain might afford, he offered to make a descent on England; but although this proposal was entertained by the Spanish ministers at Brussels, in the neighbourhood of which Charles had latterly taken up his residence, it was interrupted for some time by another offer made to the court of Spain, by Colonel Sexby, formerly the adherent, but now the mortal enemy of Cromwell, whom he considered an apostate from the cause of liberty. This man went to Brussels in the month of May, 1655, and after revealing to the court there the destination and object of a secret expedition under Venables and Penn, he offered to obtain the aid of the levellers in England to destroy the power of Cromwell, provided they were supplied with money, and had the co-operation of the English and Irish troops in the service of Spain. The court of Spain listened to Sexby's proposals and advanced him a large sum of money, part of which he transmitted to his adherents in England. Sexby, whose designs were made known to Cromwell, afterward visited England, and after making the necessary arrangements with his brother levellers, returned in safety to the continent.

The Spanish ministers, who at first were very suspicious of Sexby, were now satisfied of his sincerity, and became anxious to effect a union between him and the king, by means of which they expected to render the subjugation of Cromwell of easier performance. At a meeting which was held in the month of December,

1656, Sexby agreed to the restoration of a limited monarchy if settled by a free Parliament, but in making the attempt to overthrow the usurper, he was anxious that the restoration of the king should not be mentioned, but that their object should be ostensibly confined to the destruction of Cromwell, and to the restoration of public liberty. Though desirous of making use of Sexby's services, Charles considered that he had greatly over-rated his means, and he thought that even according to Sexby's own statement, his associates would not be hostile to royalty.

Both Cromwell and Mazarin grew alarmed at these negotiations. Whilst the latter anticipated a defection of the English and Irish regiments from the French service, as the result, the other dreaded a descent upon England; but fertile in expedients, these two wily politicians soon devised means for counteracting the designs of these different parties. The Duke of York, afterward King James II, had served with great honour under Marshal Turenne, and, by his bravery, had not only gained the esteem of that able commander, but also the hearts of his countrymen. By a secret article in the treaty between France and the Protector it was stipulated that the duke should be banished from France; but in consequence of Charles's offer to the Spanish court the article remained a dead letter, and to prevent a junction between the two brothers, and the consequent defection of the English and Irish regiments in the service of France, the appointment of captain general in the army of Italy was conferred upon him by Mazarin, with the approbation of Cromwell who had been consulted in the matter. This plan was, however, frustrated by Charles, who ordered the duke to repair to Bruges immediately, and who, although he had accepted the offer of Mazarin with eagerness, at once

complied. This event induced almost the whole of the English and Irish officers in the French army to resign their commissions, and many of the men, following the example of their officers, also left the service. Foiled in this attempt, Cromwell and Mazarin endeavoured by secret intrigue to sow the seeds of distrust in the mind of Don Juan, the governor of the Netherlands, against the Duke of York, by spreading a report that James was sincerely attached to France, and that of course little reliance could be placed on him by Spain, and Mazarin and Cromwell so far succeeded in their scheme, that Don Juan gave the real command of the English and Irish forces to Marsin, a foreigner, and, with the consent of Charles, made the officers and soldiers take an oath of fidelity to Spain. But this marked distrust of James did not stop here, for Charles was prevailed upon to order his brother to dismiss Sir John Berkeley, a favourite, and the secret agent of the French court. The young prince complied, but he was so displeased with the treatment he had received, that he followed Berkeley into Holland, intending to proceed through Germany to France. The success of this intrigue was as gratifying to Cromwell as it was annoying to Charles; but Cromwell's joy was of short duration, for a reconciliation soon took place between the royal brothers, and James returned to Breda followed by Berkeley, whom the king raised to the peerage.

The war with Spain was exceedingly unpopular in England, and there seems to be little doubt that had Charles invaded it in due time with a few thousand men, he would have destroyed Cromwell; but the expedition was postponed from month to month, by the Spanish ministers, till the advance of winter, when it was too late in the year to undertake it. But the death of Cromwell, which took place on the third of Septem-

ber, 1658, and the new aspect of affairs in England altered his views.

Charles was led to believe that Monk, who still held the chief command in Scotland, was by no means unfavourable to him, and even before the death of Cromwell he had been induced to make proposals to him, to which Monk's wife and his domestic chaplain were privy; but although these offers were very tempting and were received by Monk without disapprobation, he never could be prevailed upon to unbosom himself to those who were appointed to sound him. These intrigues were suspected by Cromwell, but as he could never find a clue to their discovery, he facetiously put Monk on his guard by the following postscript to one of his letters to that general: "'Tis said there is a cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who lies in wait there to serve Charles Stuart; pray, use your diligence to take him, and send him up to me." This notification made Monk even still more reserved, and he observed the same taciturnity when, after the death of Cromwell, a message was brought by Doctor Monk, his brother, a clergyman of Cornwall, who was sent down to Scotland by Sir John Grenville, with a letter to Monk from the king. He even dismissed his brother without any particular allusion to the object of his visit, on being informed by him in answer to a preliminary question, that he had already made Monk's chaplain, who was friendly to the king, a party to the secret.

It is clear, however, that Monk had now resolved to join the royal cause; but as secrecy seemed to be indispensable, he concealed his designs, and so effectually, that the most clear sighted could not perceive his object. To break at once with Lambert, Fleetwood, and the other leading Republicans who had endeavoured to undermine his power, and who had become very un-

popular of late, was the prelude to that successful plan of operations which he carried through to, and by which he accomplished, the restoration of the king. Accordingly, no sooner had he heard of the expulsion of the English Parliament, and the high rank of major-general of all the forces, which had been conferred on Lambert by his partisans, than he openly declared himself in opposition to Lambert the " assertor of the ancient laws and liberties of the country. " Lambert was immediately despatched to the north with a force of seven thousand men against Monk, who was by no means yet ready to receive him. He therefore had recourse to negotiation to obtain delay, and succeeded. Lambert's army did not advance in consequence farther north than Newcastle, and Monk employed the time thus afforded him in raising troops in Scotland, with which he filled up the blanks in his army occasioned by the dismissal of such of his men as were unfriendly to him. He, thereafter, called a convention of the Scottish Estates at Berwick, from which, on the sixth of December, 1659, he obtained a grant of a year's arrears of taxes, amounting to £60,000, besides the duties of excise and customs. The restoration of the English Parliament, which had been expelled by Lambert, favoured the designs of Monk, who crossed the Tweed on the first of January, 1660, to meet Lambert; but a message from the Parliament, ordering the latter to withdraw, prevented a meeting. Monk proceeded on his march, and entered London on the third of February at the head of his army.

Though appearing to act in conjunction with the Parliament, suspicions were entertained that Monk was favourable to the king, and at York he had even caned an officer who had laid to his charge the design of restoring the king. A successful interference, which he made at Nottingham, to prevent his officers from

signing a declaration to be obedient to the Parliament in all things, "except the bringing in of Charles Stuart," confirmed in some degree these suspicions. But his adherence to the Republican party was now to be put to the test by the Parliament, which required him as a member of the Council of State to abjure the house of Stuart. He hesitated, and as seven of the councillors had not yet adjured, he required to be first informed why they had not done so. He observed that oaths were easily violated, and that as providence might see fit to restore Charles Stuart, it appeared to him to be a crime to swear against what providence might ordain; that he had already given proofs of his obedience to the Parliament and was ready to give farther marks of his devotion to them. A dispute between the Parliament and the Common Council of London, who had issued a declaration, demanding "a full and free Parliament according to the ancient and fundamental laws of the land," soon put Monk's sincerity to the test. On the ninth of February, two hours after midnight, he was ordered to enter the city, to arrest eleven of the principal citizens, and to remove the barricades which had been raised for its defence. He demurred, but at last obeyed; he was received by the citizens with groans and hisses, the soldiers murmured and the officers tendered their resignations; but it was easy to perceive that Monk acted with reluctance; he however proceeded, and after removing the posts and chains of the city, wrote a letter to the speaker, giving his opinion that enough had been done to curb the refractory citizens. The Parliament again ordered him to proceed, on which he demolished the gates and portcullises. The discontents of the soldiers now rose to such a height that Monk was obliged to desist, and he returned to his residence at Whitehall.

Monk on reflection thought he perceived, in the orders

he had received, an intention on the part of the Parliamentary leaders to embroil him with the citizens, and he therefore took immediate steps to redeem himself, before the Parliament should have time to carry its ulterior views respecting him into effect. Accordingly at a council of officers which was held the following day, a letter to the speaker, which with the aid of his confidential advisers he had prepared the previous evening, was laid before them and approved of. In this letter the officers were made to complain that they had been used as instruments of personal resentment against the citizens, and they were made to require that certain vacancies in the House should be immediately filled, previous to a dissolution of the Parliament. After despatching this letter, Monk, without waiting for an answer, marched into Finsbury fields, and summoned a meeting of the Common Council which had been lately dissolved by a vote of the Parliament. At this meeting he declared himself the friend of the citizens, that he would make common cause with them, and endeavour to obtain a full and free Parliament. The citizens were thrown into ecstasies at this declaration, and they manifested their joy by the ringing of bells, bonfires, feasting the soldiers, and " the roasting of the rump."

At first the Parliamentary leaders seemed to disregard this alarming state of things, but on reflection they submitted, invited Monk to return to Whitehall, and ordered writs to be issued for the return of members to supply the vacancies in the representation. In a bill which they introduced for fixing the qualifications of the candidates and electors, they attempted to exclude the Royalists by a provision that no person should elect or be elected who did not bind himself to support a republic; but this clause was opposed by those members who had been excluded in the year 1648. Monk

purposely avoided taking any share in this dispute, and so indifferent did he appear about it, that, trusting to the impartiality of himself and his officers, the leaders on both sides agreed to refer the dispute to their arbitrament, nine of whom on each side argued the case before this new court. The question was decided in favour of the excluded members, who took their seats on the twenty-first of February, after receiving a declaration from Monk at Whitehall, where he had summoned them to meet him, that he considered Republicanism and moderate Presbyterianism essential to preserve the tranquillity of the nation. On resuming their seats some of the more furious among the Republicans withdrew from the house, a circumstance which favoured the designs of the Royalists greatly.

This declaration alarmed Charles and his friends, who really considered that Monk was sincere in his professions, particularly as he never ceased to declare, both to Cavaliers and Republicans, that he was for supporting a Republican form of government in the state, and Presbytery in the church, and so successfully had he practised this deception upon the Republican party that many of them believed him sincere, and it was not until he had declared in favour of the claim of the excluded members to their seats, that they began to suspect him; but it was now too late for them to repair the blunder they had committed in trusting so implicitly to him. The Presbyterian party had now the ascendency in Parliament, and one of the earliest acts was to appoint Monk commander-in-chief of the forces in the three kingdoms, and joint commander of the fleet with Admiral Montague. As an indication of their intentions in regard to the king, they released all the Scottish lords, and others who had been taken prisoners after the battle of Worcester.

Notwithstanding these indications in favour of royalty, Monk still continued to act a doubtful and very mysterious part, and he even stationed guards at the door of the House of Lords, to prevent that branch of the legislature from meeting to give its approval to the acts of the Commons, lest by doing so, the royal authority might be acknowledged. But the slow motions of Monk did not suit the populace, who proclaimed Charles in several places. The surviving regicides and the purchasers of forfeited property grew alarmed, and to prevent the restoration of the king, they made an offer to the commander-in-chief of the supreme power, but this he pointedly refused. At length the long Parliament, which had sat nineteen years and a half, dissolved itself by its own act, on the sixteenth of March, 1660, and having ordered the several officers to join their regiments, and dismissed those whom he distrusted, Monk was left to pursue unmolested his designs for restoring Charles.

Sir John Grenville, who had formerly sent down Monk's brother to Scotland, with a letter from the king, made several attempts to obtain an interview with the lord general at St. James's, but Monk always avoided him. At length by the intervention of one Morrice, well-known to both, Grenville was introduced, and delivered a letter to the general from the king, couched in language highly flattering to Monk. He perused the letter with attention, and when he had done reading, remarked that he could not till then declare his intentions with safety, and as there were many persons still about him, who were either inimical to his views, or whose sentiments as to the propriety of a restoration might be doubtful, he would be still constrained for a time to observe a strict secrecy. He therefore jotted down the heads of his answer in writing, and after read-

ing it to Grenville threw the paper into the fire, and desired him to carry the answer in his memory, and after enjoining him to deliver it personally to the king dismissed him.

Although the Republicans used great exertions in the elections, they were defeated in most places by the Cavaliers and moderate Presbyterians, who having united carried everything before them. Disappointed in the struggle, the Republicans made an appeal to arms, but the few men they were able to bring into the field refused to fight, and Lambert their commander was taken prisoner. The "convention" Parliament met on the twenty-fifth of April. The time had now arrived when Monk had determined to throw off the veil of mystery with which he had covered his designs. Grenville had brought over from Brussels five letters from the king, one of which was addressed to the speaker of the House of Commons, another to the lords, a third to the lord mayor and city of London, a fourth to Monk and the army, and a fifth to Montague and the navy. By an arrangement between Monk and Grenville, the latter came to the door of the House of Commons whilst Monk was in his seat, and meeting with a member who was entering the council chamber, requested him to inform Monk that a person at the door wished to speak to him. Monk rose from his seat, went to the door, and received a letter, but observing the royal arms on the seal, he ordered the guards to detain the messenger. Grenville was brought in by order of the House, and, after being interrogated by the speaker how he had come by the letter, was ordered to be taken into custody. Monk interfered, informed the House that the bearer of the letter was his near kinsman, and that he would be security for his appearance.

This declaration, which revealed the secret of Monk's

policy, produced an instantaneous effect in favour of the king, and Grenville took advantage of the favourable opportunity of delivering the letters addressed to the two houses, as well as those to the army and navy, and the city of London. The letters to the two houses contained a paper known in history by the name of the "Declaration of Breda," where it had been drawn up, in which his Majesty, after granting a pardon to all persons but those whom the Parliament might except, and declaring that no persons should be disturbed on account of their religious opinions, if consistent with the peace of the kingdom, promised to leave the settlement of all questions which might arise about property which had been purchased or forfeited during the revolution, to the wisdom of Parliament; and he, moreover, promised that the arrears of pay due to Monk's army should be liquidated, that both officers and men should be retained in the service; and that they should continue to receive the same amount of pay, and enjoy all the privileges they were then vested with.

Though the declaration was not exactly what Monk had required in his private communication to the king, it was deemed so satisfactory that the two Houses, the army and navy, and the Common Council of London, each voted an address of thanks and congratulation to the king, and the nation at large demanded his immediate return. In accordance with this feeling, both Houses invited his Majesty to come and take possession of his inheritance, and they sent him a present of £50,000 to relieve his immediate wants, £10,000 to the Duke of York, and £5,000 to his younger brother, the Duke of Gloucester. The king was not long in obeying the invitation. He was received at Dover by Monk, at the head of the nobility, whence he proceeded to London,

which he entered on the twenty-ninth of May, 1660, amidst the acclamations of the citizens.

The news of the king's arrival was received in Scotland with a burst of enthusiasm, not quite in accordance with the national character, but the idea that the nation was about to regain its liberties, made Scotsmen forget their wonted propriety. Preparatory to the assembling of the Scottish Parliament, which was summoned to meet at Edinburgh on the first of January, 1661, Middleton, who had lately been created an earl, was appointed his Majesty's commissioner; the Earl of Glencairn, chancellor; the Earl of Lauderdale, secretary of state; the Earl of Rothes, president of the council; and the Earl of Crawford, lord-treasurer.

It would be quite apart from the object of this work to detail the many unconstitutional acts passed by this "terrible Parliament," as it is well named by Kirkton; but the trial of the Marquis of Argyle must not be overlooked. That nobleman had, on the restoration of the king, gone to London to congratulate his Majesty on his return; but on his arrival he was immediately seized and committed to the Tower. He petitioned the king for a personal interview, which was refused, and, to get rid of his importunities, his Majesty directed that he should be sent back to Scotland for trial. Being brought to trial, he applied for delay, till some witnesses at a distance should be examined on commission; but this was refused. He, thereupon, claimed the benefit of the amnesty which the king had granted at Stirling. This plea was sustained by desire of the king; but as there were other charges against him, arising out of transactions subsequent to the year 1651, to which year only the amnesty extended, the trial was proceeded in. These charges were, that he had aided the English in destroying the liberties of Scotland;

that he had accepted a grant of £12,000 from Cromwell; that he had repeatedly used defamatory and traitorous language in speaking of the royal family; and, lastly, that he had voted for a bill abjuring the right of the royal family to the crowns of the three kingdoms, which had been passed in the Parliament of Richard Cromwell, in which he sat. Argyle denied that he had ever given any countenance or assistance to the English in their invasion of Scotland; but he admitted the grant from Cromwell, which he stated was given, not in lieu of services, but as a compensation for losses sustained by him. He, moreover, denied that he had ever used the words attributed to him respecting the royal family, and with regard to the charge of sitting in Richard Cromwell's Parliament, he stated that he had taken his seat to protect his country from oppression, and to be ready, should occasion offer, to support by his vote, the restoration of the king. This defence staggered the Parliament, and judgment was postponed. In the meantime Glencairn and Rothes hastened to London to lay the matter before the king, and to urge the necessity of Argyle's condemnation. Unfortunately for that nobleman, they had recovered some letters which he had written to Monk and other English officers, in which were found some expressions very hostile to the king, but as these letters have not been preserved, their precise contents are not known. Argyle was again brought before Parliament, and the letters read in his presence. He had no explanation to give, and his friends, vexed and dismayed, retired from the House, and left him to his fate. He accordingly received sentence of death on the twenty-fifth of May, 1661, and, that he might not have an opportunity of appealing to the clemency of the king, he was ordered to be beheaded within forty-eight hours. He employed the short time

he had to live in devotion, and in receiving the consolations of his friends, some of whom dined with him a few hours before his execution. After dinner he retired a short time for private prayer, and on returning, told his friends that "the Lord had sealed his charter, and said to him, Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven." When brought to the scaffold he addressed the people, protested his innocence, declared his adherence to the Covenant, reproved "the abounding wickedness of the land, and vindicated himself from the charge of being accessory to the death of Charles I." With the greatest fortitude he laid his head upon the block, which was immediately severed from his body by the maiden. This event took place on Monday, the twenty-seventh day of May, 1661. By a singular destiny the head of Argyle was fixed on the same spike which had borne that of his great rival, Montrose.

Argyle was highly esteemed by his party; but there is nothing in his conduct which can be justified by the impartial historian. Duplicity, cunning, cowardice, and avarice were his characteristic traits. His zeal for religion and the covenant was a mere pretence to enable him to obtain that ascendency among the Covenanters which he acquired, and his affected patriotism was regulated entirely by his personal interests. Yet, whatever were his motives, it cannot be denied that to the exertions of Argyle Scotland is chiefly indebted for the successful stand which was made against the unconstitutional attempts of the elder Charles upon the civil and religious liberties of his Scottish subjects. But, criminal as Argyle was in vituperating the royal family, and showing a predilection for Cromwell, the circumstances of the times would, by impartial judges, have been considered as affording some extenuation for his conduct, but it was his misfortune to be tried

by men who were his enemies, and who did not scruple to violate all the forms of justice to bring him to the block, in the hope of obtaining his vast possessions.

The execution of Argyle was not in accordance with the views of the king, and there is no doubt, that if sufficient time had been allowed him for soliciting the royal mercy, that his life would have been spared. To show his disapprobation of the death of Argyle, the king received Lord Lorn, his eldest son, with favour at court, from which circumstance the enemies of the house of Argyle anticipated that they would be disappointed in their expectations of sharing among them the confiscated estates of the marquis. To impair, therefore, these estates was their next object. Argyle had obtained from the Scottish Parliament a grant of the confiscated estate of the Marquis of Huntly, his brother-in-law, on the ground that he was a considerable creditor, but as Huntly was indebted to other persons to the extent of 400,000 merks, the estate was burdened to that amount on passing into Argyle's possession. Middleton and his colleagues immediately passed an act, restoring Huntly's estate free of encumbrance, leaving to Huntly's creditors recourse upon the estates of Argyle for payment of their debts. Young Argyle was exasperated at this proceeding, and in a letter to Lord Duffus, his brother-in-law, expressed himself in very unguarded terms respecting the Parliament. This letter was intercepted by Middleton, and on it the Parliament grounded a charge of verbal sedition, or leasing-making as the crime is known in the statutory law of Scotland, an offence which was declared capital by the Acts 1424, c. 43, and 1540, c. 83 of the Scottish Parliament. Upon this vague charge the young nobleman was brought to trial before the Parliament, and condemned to death. The enemies of the

house of Argyle now supposed that the estates of the family were again within their grasp; but the king, at the intercession of Lauderdale, the rival of Middleton, pardoned Lorn, released him from prison after about a year's confinement, restored to him the family estates, and allowed him to retain the title of earl.

After the suppression of Glencairn's short-lived insurrection, the Highlands enjoyed repose till the year 1674, when a combustion took place which threatened to involve the greater part of that country in the horrors of feudal war. The occasion was this. The Marquis of Argyle had purchased up some debts due by the laird of Maclean, for which his son, the earl, applied for payment; but the laird being unwilling or unable to pay, the earl apprised his lands, and followed out other legal proceedings, to make the claim effectual against Maclean's estates. In the meantime the latter died, leaving a son under the guardianship of his brother, to whom, on Maclean's death, the earl renewed his application for payment. The tutor of Maclean stated his readiness to settle, either by appropriating as much of the rents of his ward's lands in Mull and Tirey as would be sufficient to pay the interest of the debt, or by selling or conveying to him in security as much of the property as would be sufficient to pay off the debt itself; but he required, before entering into this arrangement, that the earl should restrict his claim to what was justly due. The earl professed his readiness to comply with the tutor's offer; but the latter contrived to evade the matter for a considerable time, and at length showed a disposition to resist the earl's demand by force.

The earl, therefore, resolved to enforce compliance, and armed with a decree of the Court of Session, and supported by a body of two thousand of his tenants and vassals, he crossed into Mull, in which he landed

at three different places without opposition, although the Macleans had seven or eight hundred men in the island. The Macleans had sent their cattle into Mull for safety, a considerable number of which were killed or houghed by Lord Neill, brother to the earl, at the head of a party of the Campbells. The islanders at once submitted, and the earl, having obtained possession of the castle of Duart, and placed a garrison therein, left the island. Although the Macleans had promised to pay their rents to the earl, they refused when applied to the following year, a refusal which induced him to prepare for a second invasion of Mull. In September, 1675, he had collected a force of about fifteen hundred men, including a hundred of the king's troops from Glasgow, under the command of Captain Crichton, and a similar number of militiamen under Andrew M'Farlane, the laird of M'Farlane, the use of which corps had been granted the earl on application to the Council. The Macleans, aware of their danger, had strengthened themselves by an alliance with Lord Macdonald and other chieftains, who sent a force of about a thousand men to their aid; but Argyle's forces never reached the island, his ships having been driven back damaged and dismantled by a dreadful hurricane, which lasted two days.[16]

This misfortune, and intelligence which the earl received from the commander of Duart castle, that the Macleans were in great force in the island, made him postpone his enterprise. With the exception of five hundred men, whom he retained for the protection of his coasts, and about three or four hundred to protect his lands against the incursions of the Macleans, he dismissed his forces, after giving them instructions to reassemble on the eighteenth of October, unless countermanded before that time. The earl then went

to Edinburgh to crave additional aid from the government, but receiving no encouragement he posted to London, where he expected, with the assistance of his friend the Duke of Lauderdale, to obtain assistance. Lord Macdonald and the other friends of the Macleans, hearing of Argyle's departure, immediately followed him to London, and laid a state of the dispute before the king, who, in February, 1676, remitted the matter to three lords of the Privy Council of Scotland for judgment. The earl returned to Edinburgh in June following. A meeting of the parties took place before the lords to whom the matter had been referred, but they came to no decision, and the subsequent fate of Argyle put an end to these differences, although it appears that he was allowed to take possession of the island of Mull without resistance in the year 1680.

Except upon one occasion, now to be noticed, the Highlanders took no share in any of the public transactions in Scotland during the reigns of Charles the Second and his brother, James. Isolated from the Lowlands by a mountain barrier which prevented almost any intercourse between them and their southern neighbours, they happily kept free from the contagion of that religious fanaticism which spread over the Lowlands of Scotland, in consequence of the unconstitutional attempts of the government to force Episcopacy upon the people. Had the Highlanders been imbued with the same spirit which actuated the Scottish Whigs, the government might have found it a difficult task to have suppressed them; but they did not concern themselves with these theological disputes, and they did not hesitate when their chiefs, at the call of the government, required their services, to march to the Lowlands to suppress the disturbances in the western counties. Accordingly, an army of about eight thousand

men, known in Scottish history by the name of the "Highland Host," descended from the mountains under the command of their respective chiefs, and encamped at Stirling on the twenty-fourth of June, 1687, whence they spread themselves over Clydesdale, Renfrew, Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick, and overawed the Whigs so effectually, that they did not attempt to oppose the government during the stay of these hardy mountaineers among them. According to Wodrow and Kirkton, the Highlanders were guilty of great oppression and cruelty, but they kept their hands free from blood, as it has been correctly stated that not one Whig lost his life during the invasion of these Highland crusaders. After remaining about eight months in the Lowlands the Highlanders were sent home, the government having no farther occasion for their services, but before their departure they took care to carry along with them a large quantity of plunder they had collected during their stay.

After the departure of the Highlanders, the Covenanters again appeared upon the stage, and proceeded so far as even to murder some soldiers who had been quartered on some landlords who had refused to pay cess. The assassination of Archbishop Sharp, and the insurrection of the Covenanters under a preacher named Hamilton, followed by the defeat of the celebrated Graham of Claverhouse at Drumclog on the first of June, 1679, alarmed the government; but the defeat of the rebels by the king's forces at Bothwell bridge on the twenty-second of June quieted their apprehensions. Fresh measures of severity were adopted against the unfortunate Whigs, who, driven to despair, again flew to arms, encouraged by the exhortations of the celebrated enthusiast, Richard Cameron, from whom the religious sect, known by the name of Cameronians,

takes its name; and Donald Cargill, another fanatic; but they were defeated in an action at Airs-moss in Kyle, in which Cameron, their ecclesiastical head, was killed.

To check the diffusion of anti-monarchical principles, which were spreading fast throughout the kingdom under the auspices of the disciples of Cameron, the government, on the meeting of the Scottish Parliament on the twenty-eighth of July, 1681, devised a test, which was required to be taken by all persons possessed of any civil, military, or ecclesiastical office. The parties taking this test were made to declare their adhesion to the true Protestant religion, as contained in the original confession of faith, ratified by Parliament in the year 1560, to recognize the supremacy of the king over all persons civil and ecclesiastical, and to acknowledge that there "lay no obligation from the national covenant, or the Solemn League and Covenant, or any other manner of way whatsoever, to endeavour any alteration in the government in church or state, as it was then established by the laws of the kingdom."

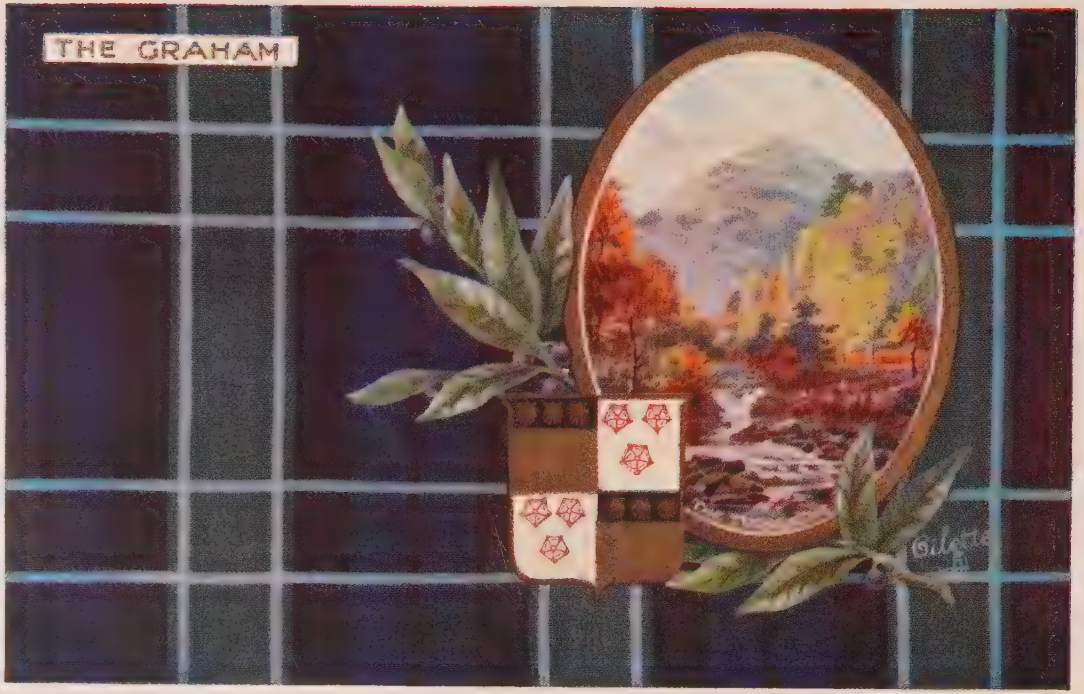
The terms of this test were far from satisfactory to some, even of the best friends of the government, as it was full of contradictions and absurdities, and it was not until the Privy Council issued an explanatory declaration that they could be prevailed upon to take it. The Dukes of Hamilton and Monmouth, however, rather than take the test, resigned their offices. Among others, who had distinguished themselves in opposing the passing of the test, was the Earl of Argyle, who supported an amendment proposed by Lord Belhaven, for setting aside a clause, excepting the Duke of York, brother to the king, and the other princes of the blood from its operation. The conduct of Argyle gave great offence to the duke, who sat as commissioner in the Parliament,

and encouraged his enemies to set about accomplishing his ruin. The Earl of Errol brought in a bill reviving some old claims upon his estates, and the king's advocate endeavoured to deprive him of his hereditary offices; but the Duke of York interposed and prevented the adoption of these intended measures. To gratify his enemies, however, and to show the displeasure of the Court at his recent opposition, Argyle was deprived of his seat in the Court of Session; but this did not sufficiently appease their resentment, and, anxious for an opportunity of gratifying their malice, they hoped that he would refuse to take the test. Accordingly, he was required to subscribe it. He hesitated, and craved time to deliberate. Aware of the plot which had been long hatching against him, and as he saw that if he refused he would be deprived of his important hereditary jurisdictions, he resolved to take the test with a declaratory explanation, which, it is understood, received the approbation of the Duke of York, to whom the earl had submitted it. The earl then subscribed the test in presence of the Council, and added the explanation above mentioned. It was as follows: "I have considered the test, and am very desirous of giving obedience as far as I can. I am confident that the Parliament never intended to impose contradictory oaths. Therefore I think no man can explain it but for himself. Accordingly, I take it so far as it is consistent with itself and the Protestant religion. And I do declare, that I mean not to bind myself, in my station, in a lawful way, from wishing, and endeavouring any alteration which I think to the advantage of Church or State, and not repugnant to the Protestant religion and my loyalty. And this I understand as a part of my oath." This declaration did not please the Council, but as the duke appeared to be satisfied, the matter was

passed over, and Argyle kept his seat at the Council board.

Although the Duke of York had been heard to declare that no honest man could take the test, a declaration which fully justified the course Argyle had pursued, yet the enemies of that nobleman wrought so far upon the mind of his royal highness, as to induce him to think that Argyle's declaration was a highly criminal act. The earl therefore was required to take the test a second time, without explanation, and having refused, he was committed a prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, and on the slight foundation of a declaration, which had been sanctioned by the next heir to the Crown, was raised a hideous superstructure of high treason, leasing-making, and perjury.

Argyle was brought to trial on Monday, the twelfth day of December, 1681, before the high court of justiciary. The Earl of Queensbury, the justice-general, and four other judges, sat upon the bench, and fifteen noblemen acted as jurors. The absurdity of the charges, and the iniquity of the attempt, to deprive a nobleman, who had even in the worst times shown an attachment to the royal family, of his fortune, his honours, and his life were ably exposed by the counsel for the earl; but so lost was a majority of the judges to every sense of justice, that, regardless of the infamy which would for ever attach to them, they found the libel relevant; and on the following day the assize or jury, of which the Marquis of Montrose, cousin-german to Argyle, was chancellor, found him guilty. Intelligence of Argyle's condemnation was immediately sent to the king, but the messenger was anticipated in his arrival, by an express from the earl himself to the king, who, although he gave orders that sentence should be passed against Argyle, sent positive injunctions to delay the execution


THE GRAHAM

till his pleasure should be known. Argyle, however, did not wish to trust to the royal clemency, and as he understood preparations were making for his execution, he made his escape from the castle of Edinburgh, disguised as a page carrying the train of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his daughter-in-law.[17] He went to London, where he lay some time in concealment, whence he went over to Holland. On the day of his escape, being the twenty-first of December, he was proclaimed a fugitive at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and on the twenty-fourth, the court of justiciary passed sentence of death against him, ordered his arms to be reversed, and torn at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and declared his titles and estates forfeited.

In exculpation of their infamous proceedings, the persecutors of Argyle pretended that their only object in resorting to such unjustifiable measures was to force him to surrender his extensive hereditary jurisdictions, which, they considered, gave him too great authority in the Highlands, and the exercise of which in his family might obstruct the ends of justice; and that they had no designs either upon his life or fortune. But this is an excuse which cannot be admitted, for they had influence enough with the Crown to have deprived Argyle of these hereditary jurisdictions, without having recourse to measures so glaringly subversive of justice.

The only advantage taken by the king, of Argyle's forfeiture, was the retention of the heritable jurisdictions, which were parcelled out among the friends of the court, during pleasure. The Lord Lorn, the earl's son, had the forfeited estates restored to him, after provision had been made for satisfying the demands of his father's creditors.

During the latter years of Charles II a number of persons from England and Scotland had taken refuge

in Holland to escape state prosecutions, with which they were threatened. Among the Scottish exiles, besides Argyle, were Sir James Dalrymple, afterward Earl of Stair, the celebrated Fletcher of Salton, and Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, all of whom, as martyrs of liberty, longed for an opportunity of vindicating its cause in the face of their country. The accession of James II to the crown of his brother seemed an event favourable to their plans, and at a meeting which some of the exiled leaders held at Rotterdam, they resolved to raise the standard of revolt in England and Scotland, and invited the Duke of Monmouth, also an exile, and the Earl of Argyle to join them. Monmouth, who was then living in retirement at Brussels, spending his time in illicit amours, accepted the invitation, and having repaired to Rotterdam, offered either to attempt a descent on England, at the head of the English exiles, or to go to Scotland as a volunteer, under Argyle. The latter, who had never ceased since his flight from keeping up a correspondence with his friends in Scotland, had already been making preparations, and by means of a large sum of money he had received from a rich widow of Amsterdam, had there purchased a ship and arms, and ammunition. He now also repaired to Rotterdam, where it was finally arranged that two expeditions should be fitted out, one for England, under Monmouth, and the other for Scotland, under the command of Argyle, who was appointed by the Council at Rotterdam, captain general of the army, "with as full power as was usually given to generals by the free states in Europe."

On the second of May, 1685, the expedition under Argyle, which consisted of three ships and about three hundred men, left the shores of Holland, and reached Cairston in the Orkneys on the sixth, after a pleasant

voyage. The seizure, by the natives, of Spence, the earl's secretary, and of Blackadder, his surgeon, both of whom had incautiously ventured on shore, afforded the government the necessary information as to the strength and destination of the expedition. A proclamation had been issued on the twenty-eighth of April for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence, hostages had been taken from the vassals of Argyle as sureties for their fidelity, and all persons whose loyalty was suspected were either imprisoned, or had to find security for their fidelity to the government; but as soon as the Council at Edinburgh received the intelligence of Argyle's having reached the Orkneys, they despatched troops to the west, and ordered several frigates to cruise among the Western Isles. After taking four Orcadians as hostages for the lives of his secretary and surgeon, Argyle left the Orkneys on the seventh of May, and arrived at Tobermory in the Isle of Mull on the eleventh, whence he sailed to the mainland and landed in Kintyre. Here he published a declaration which had been drawn up in Holland by Sir James Stuart, afterward king's advocate, full of invective against the government, and attributing all the grievances under which the country had laboured in the preceding reign to a conspiracy between popery and tyranny, which had, he observed, been evidently disclosed by the cutting off of the late king and the ascension of the Duke of York to the throne. It declared that the object of the invaders was to restore the true Protestant religion, and that as the Duke of York was, from his religion, as they supposed, incapable of giving security on that head, they declared that they would never enter into any treaty with him. The earl issued, a few days thereafter, a second declaration from Tarbet, reciting his own wrongs, and calling upon his former vassals to join his standard. Mes-

sengers were despatched in all directions bearing aloft the fiery cross, and in a short time about eight hundred of his clan, headed by Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, rallied around their chief. Other reinforcements arrived, which increased his army to twenty-five hundred men, a force wholly insufficient to meet a body of about seven thousand militia and a considerable number of regular troops already assembled in the west to oppose his advance.

Although Argyle's obvious plan was at once to have dashed into the western Lowlands where the spirit of disaffection was deeply prevalent, and where a great accession of force might have been expected, he, contrary to the advice of some of his officers, remained in Argyle a considerable time in expectation of hearing of Monmouth's landing, and spent the precious moments in chasing out of his territories a few stragglers who infested his borders. Amid the dissensions which naturally arose from this difference of opinion, the Royalists were hemming Argyle in on all sides. Whilst the Duke of Gordon was advancing upon his rear with the northern forces, and the Earl of Dumbarton with the regular troops pressing him in front, the Marquis of Athole and Lord Charles Murray, at the head of fifteen hundred men, kept hanging on his right wing, and a fleet watched his ships to prevent his escape by sea. In this conjuncture Argyle yielded to the opinion of his officers, and leaving his stores in the castle of Allangreg in charge of a garrison of 150 men, he began his march, on the tenth of June, to the Lowlands, and gave orders that his vessels should follow close along the coast. The commander of the castle, on the approach of the king's ships under Sir Thomas Hamilton, abandoned it five days thereafter without firing a single shot, and the warlike stores which it contained, consisting of

five thousand stand of arms, and three hundred barrels of powder, besides a standard, bearing the inscription "against popery, prelacy, and Erastianism," fell a prey to the Royalists. The vessels also belonging to Argyle were taken at the same time.

On the sixteenth of June Argyle crossed the Leven near Dumbarton, but finding it impracticable, from the numerous forces opposed to him, and which met him at every point, to proceed on his intended route to Glasgow by the ordinary road, he betook himself to the hills in the expectation of eluding his foes during the darkness of the night; but this desperate expedient did not succeed, and next morning Argyle found his force diminished by desertion to five hundred men. Thus abandoned by the greater part of his men, he, in his turn, deserted those who remained with him, and endeavoured to secure his own safety; and disguising himself in a common dress he wandered for some time in the company of Major Fullarton in the vicinity of Dumbarton, and in attempting to cross the Clyde at Inchinnan was taken prisoner by a few militiamen. About a hundred of the volunteers from Holland crossed the Clyde in boats, but being attacked by the Royalists were dispersed. Thus ended this ill-concerted and unfortunate expedition.

Argyle was carried to Glasgow, and thence to Edinburgh, where he underwent the same ignominious and brutal treatment which the brave Montrose had suffered on being brought to the capital after his capture, a spectacle which Argyle himself, thirty-five years before, had witnessed with approbation from a balcony in front of the Earl of Moray's house in the Canongate. As the judgment which had been pronounced against Argyle, after his escape from the castle of Edinburgh, was still in force, no trial was considered

necessary. He was beheaded accordingly on the twenty-sixth of June, evincing in his last moments the courage of a Roman, and the fortitude of a martyr. His two sons, Lord Lorn and Lord Neill Campbell, were banished. Monmouth, who did not land in England till the eleventh of June, was equally unfortunate, and suffered the death of a traitor on Tower Hill on the fifteenth of July.

CHAPTER VII

KING JAMES DETHRONED

The ill-fated result of Argyle's expedition, and the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, enabled James to turn the whole of his attention to the accomplishment of an object more valuable, in his opinion, than the crown itself — the restoration of the Catholic religion. In furtherance of this design, the king adopted a series of the most unconstitutional and impolitic measures, which destroyed the popularity he had acquired on his accession, and finally ended in his expulsion from the throne. It is due to the king, however, to state, that in assuming the dispensing power, he merely followed the footsteps of his predecessors, and that his conduct, though illegal, was quite the reverse of intolerant, as he merely wished to see all civil disabilities removed on account of religious opinions, and all his subjects enjoy complete toleration, a principle which the Legislature has lately recognized by the repeal of the test act, and the passing of the Catholic relief bill.

It was not, however, till the Scottish Parliament, which met on the twenty-eighth of April, 1686, and on the obsequiousness of which the king had placed great reliance, had refused to repeal the test, that he resolved upon those desperate measures which proved so fatal to him. This Parliament was prorogued by order of the king on the fifteenth day of June, and in a few months thereafter he addressed a succession of letters to the Council, — and from which he had previously removed

some individuals who were opposed to his plans, — in which he stated, that in requiring the Parliament to repeal the penal statutes, he merely meant to give them an opportunity of evincing their loyalty, as he considered that he had sufficient power, by virtue of his prerogative, to suspend or dispense with those laws; a most erroneous and dangerous doctrine certainly, but which could never be said to have been exploded till the era of the revolution. In these letters the king ordered the Council to allow the Catholics to exercise their worship freely in private, to extend the protection of government to his Protestant as well as Catholic subjects, to receive the Conformist clergy in general to livings in the church, and to admit certain individuals whom he named to offices in the state without requiring any of them to take the test.

But these letters, though disapproved in part by the Council, were merely preparatory to much more important steps. These were the issuing of two successive proclamations by the king on the twelfth of February and fifth of July in the following year, granting full and free toleration to Presbyterians, Catholics, and Quakers, with liberty to exercise their worship in houses and chapels. He also suspended the severe penal statutes against the Catholics, which had been passed during the minority of his grandfather; but he declared his resolution to preserve inviolate the rights and privileges of the then established (Episcopal) church of Scotland, and to protect the holders of church property in their possessions.

By the Presbyterians, who had for so many years writhed under the lash of persecution, these proclamations were received with great satisfaction; and at a meeting which was held at Edinburgh of the Presbyterian ministers, who had assembled from all parts

of the country, to consider the matter, a great majority not only accepted the boon with cheerfulness, but voted a loyal address to his Majesty, thanking him for the indulgence he had granted them. Some there were, however, of the more rigorous kind, who denounced any communication with the king, whom they declared "an apostate, bigoted, excommunicated papist, under the malediction of the mediator; yea, heir to the imprecation of his grandfather," and who found warm abettors in the clergy of the Episcopal church in Scotland, who displayed their anger even in their discourses from the pulpit.

Although the Presbyterians reaped great advantages from the toleration which the king had granted, by being allowed the free and undisturbed exercise of their worship, and by being, many of them, admitted into offices of the state, yet, as they perceived that a much greater proportion of Catholics was admitted to similar employments, they began to grow suspicious of the king's intentions, and instead of continuing their gratitude, they openly declared that they did not any longer consider themselves under any obligation to his Majesty, as the toleration had been granted for the purpose of introducing Catholics into places of trust, and of dividing Protestants among themselves. These apprehensions were encouraged by the Episcopal party, who, alarmed at the violent proceedings of the king against the English universities, and the bishops who had refused to read his proclamation for liberty of conscience in the churches, endeavoured to instill the same dread of popery and arbitrary power into the minds of their Presbyterian countrymen which they themselves entertained. By these and similar means, discontent spread rapidly among the people of Scotland, who considered their civil and religious liberties in immi-

nent danger, and were, therefore, ready to join in any measure which might be proposed for their protection.

William, Prince of Orange, who had married the Princess Mary, the eldest daughter of James, next in succession to the crown, and who had long entertained the idea of mounting the throne of the Stuarts, watched the progress of this struggle between arbitrary power and popular rights with extreme anxiety. He had incurred the displeasure of his father-in-law, while Duke of York, by joining the party whose object it was to exclude James from the throne, by the reception which he gave the Duke of Monmouth in Holland, and by his connivance, apparent at least, at the attempts of the Earl of Argyle and Monmouth. But, upon the defeat of the latter, William, by offering his congratulations on that event, reinstated himself in the good graces of his father-in-law. As James, however, could not reconcile the protection, which the prince afforded to the numerous disaffected exiles from England and Scotland who had taken refuge in Holland, with the prince's professions of friendship, he demanded their removal; but this was refused, through the influence of the prince with the States, and though, upon a hint being given that a war might ensue in consequence of this refusal, they were removed from The Hague, yet they still continued to reside in other parts of Holland, and kept up a regular communication with the prince. Another demand made by the king to dismiss the officers of the British regiments serving in Holland, whose fidelity was suspected, met with the same evasive compliance; for although William displaced those officers, he refused commissions to all persons whom he suspected of attachment to the king or the Catholic faith. The wise policy of this proceeding was exemplified in the subsequent conduct of the regi-

ments which declared themselves in favour of the prince's pretensions.

But if James had to complain of the conduct of his son-in-law, the latter was, in his turn, prepared with a list of grievances. Among other subjects of complaint, was the report of a design on the part of the king to exclude the Princess Mary from the throne. This report was credited by William, on whom it made a deep impression. He demanded an explanation. The king, who was perfectly innocent, was indignant at the charge; but William was by no means satisfied, and to try the king's sincerity, he required the settlement of a yearly allowance on the princess, as presumptive heir to the crown. James, contrary to the advice of some of his Catholic counsellors, refused to accede to this request, alleging as his reason, that as the money was not to be spent in the kingdom, it was not claimable.

As James considered it of the utmost importance, for the success of his contemplated plan for a total abrogation of the penal laws, to obtain the consent and approbation of the Prince of Orange, he sent over to Holland, Penn, the celebrated Quaker, who was a favourite with the king, and on whose integrity James placed the most perfect reliance, to endeavour to induce the prince to accede to his plan of toleration; but the sterling honesty of Penn, and his able advocacy of the rights of conscience, were counteracted by the influence of a more dextrous and wily politician in the person of Burnet, the historian. The king was not more successful in another attempt he made through the Marquis of Abbeville, who, although he succeeded in getting Burnet removed from the court of the prince, could only procure from William a declaration that, though a friend to toleration, he was only such in a general sense, and was opposed to the repeal of the Test Act, which he con-

sidered the only security the Church of England had under a Catholic king.

Early in the year 1687, William perceived that matters were approaching to a crisis in England, but he did not think that the time had then arrived for putting his intended design of invading England into execution. To sound the dispositions of the people, he sent over in February, that year, Dyckvelt, an acute statesman, who kept up a secret communication with those who favoured the designs of his master. Dyckvelt soon returned to Holland with letters from several of the nobility addressed to the prince, all couched in favourable terms, which encouraged him to send Zuleistein, another agent, into England to assure his friends there that if James attempted, with the aid "of a packed Parliament," to repeal the penal laws and the Test Act, he would oppose him with an armed force.

Although the king was aware of the prince's intrigues, he could never be persuaded that the latter had any intention to dispossess him of his crown, and he continued to pursue the desperate course he had resolved upon with a pertinacity and zeal which blinded him to the dangers which surrounded him. The preparations of the prince for a descent on England went on in the meantime with activity; but a temporary damp was cast on his hopes by reports of the pregnancy of the queen, an event which, if a son was the result, might prevent the accession of his wife, the Princess Mary. To counteract the effect of this report upon the public mind, the enemies of the king circulated with uncommon industry a counter report that the intelligence was untrue, and that it was merely preparatory to a design to force a supposititious child upon the nation, to the exclusion of the true Protestant heir to the crown. But this malicious falsehood was refuted by the birth of a prince

on the tenth of June, 1688, an event which has been indubitably attested by the most convincing proofs. The opponents of the king, however, though disappointed, were not depressed, and as they had made the nation believe that a supposititious prince was to be expected, they resorted to every expedient which ingenuity could invent to persuade their dupes that their predictions had been realized. Reports the most incredible were circulated, and although many of them were too inconsistent and absurd to be believed, they were greedily swallowed, and even credited by persons of the best intentions. These reports were carefully raked together by Burnet, who, to please his patron, published them, a circumstance highly discreditable to his memory. Though the king felt keenly the indignity thus offered him, he disdained to give any public contradiction to the calumny which he probably supposed would be sufficiently answered by appointing a day for a general thanksgiving, throughout the kingdom.

It was not till the month of September, when James was on the utmost verge of the precipice, that he saw the danger of his situation. He now began, when too late, to attempt to repair the errors of his reign, by a variety of popular concessions, but although these were granted with apparent cheerfulness, and accepted with similar indications of thankfulness, it was evident that they were forced from the king by the necessity of his situation, and might be withdrawn when that necessity ceased to exist, an idea which the enemies of the king did not fail to propagate among the people.

Being now convinced that the Prince of Orange contemplated an invasion of England, James began to make the necessary preparations for defence. In September, 1688, he sent down an express to Scotland to the members of the Privy Council, acquainting them of the

prince's preparations, and requiring them to place that part of his dominions on the war establishment. The militia were accordingly embodied, the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, etc., provisioned, and orders were sent to the chiefs of the Highland clans to be ready to assemble their men on a short notice. Many persons at first discredited the report of an invasion from Holland, and considered that it was a mere device of the king either to raise money or to collect an army for some sinister purpose; but their suspicions were allayed by intelligence being brought by some seamen from Holland of the warlike preparations which were making in the Dutch ports. The jealousies which were entertained of the king's intentions were dissipated by the dread of a foreign invasion, and addresses were sent into the Privy Council from the different towns, and from the country gentlemen, with offers of service.

Whilst the Privy Council were engaged in fulfilling the king's instructions, they received an order from his Majesty to concentrate the regular army, and despatch it without delay into England. This force, which did not exceed three thousand men, was in a state of excellent discipline, and was so advantageously posted throughout the kingdom that any insurrection which might break out could be easily suppressed. As the Prince of Orange had many adherents in Scotland, and as the spirit of disaffection to the existing government in the western counties, though subdued, had not been extinguished, the Privy Council considered that to send the army, under such circumstances, out of the kingdom, would be a most imprudent step, and they, therefore, sent an express to the king, representing the danger of such a movement, of which the disaffected would not fail to avail themselves, should an opportunity occur. They proposed that the army should remain as it

was then stationed, and that in lieu thereof, a body of militia, and a detachment of Highlanders, amounting together to thirteen thousand men, should be despatched to the borders, or marched into the north of England, to watch the movements of the king's enemies in that quarter, and to suppress any risings which they might attempt in favour of the prince. But, although the Council were unanimous in giving this advice, the king disregarded it altogether, reiterated the order he had formerly given, and intimated, that if any of them were afraid to remain in Scotland, they might accompany the army into England.

Accordingly, the Scottish army began its march early in October, in two divisions. The first, consisting of the foot, at the head of which was General Douglas, brother of the Duke of Queensberry, who had the chief command of the army, took the road to Chester; and the second, consisting of the horse, under the direction of Graham of Claverhouse, as major-general, marched by York. These detachments, on their arrival at London, joined the English army under the command of the Earl of Feversham, about the end of October.

To supply the absence of the regular troops, and to prevent the disaffected from making the capital the focus of insurrection, a large body of militia, under the command of Sir George Munro, was quartered in Edinburgh and the suburbs; but no sooner had the army passed the borders, than crowds from all parts of the kingdom congregated, as if by mutual consent, into the metropolis, where they held private meetings, which were attended by the Earls of Glencairn, Crawford, Dundonald, and others. The objects of these meetings were made known to the Council by spies, who were employed to attend them; and although they were clearly treasonable, the Council had not the courage

to arrest a single individual. Among other things, the leaders of these meetings resolved to intercept all correspondence between the king and the Council, a task which Sir James Montgomery undertook to see accomplished, and which he so effectually discharged that very few despatches reached their destination.

For several weeks the Privy Council, owing to this interruption, was kept in a state of painful uncertainty as to the state of the king's affairs in England; but at last an express arrived from the Earl of Melfort, announcing the important intelligence that the Prince of Orange had landed in England with a considerable force, and that his Majesty had gone to meet him at the head of his army. The earl, in his despatches, which were addressed to his brother, the Duke of Perth, the chancellor, expressed himself in very sanguine terms as to the result of the ensuing contest; but Graham, who had been just created a peer by the king, under the title of Viscount Dundee, in a letter to his friends in the Council, did not disguise his apprehensions as to the probable unfavourable issue of the conflict. These discordant opinions produced an irresolution in the minds of the members of Council, who appear to have been quite at a loss how to act under this new posture of affairs. To ascertain the exact state of matters in England, they despatched, on the recommendation of the Viscount of Tarbet, one, Brand, a merchant, and one of the magistrates of the city, who, being in the practice of travelling into England on business, it was supposed would not be suspected as the bearer of any communication to the king; but Brand basely betrayed his trust by carrying his despatches to the camp of the Prince of Orange, to whom he was introduced by Doctor Burnet.

The landing of the prince, which was effected without

opposition on the fifth of November, 1688, at Torbay in Devonshire, excited the greatest alarm in the mind of the king, who had entertained hopes that a well-appointed fleet of thirty-seven men-of-war, and seventeen fire-ships which had been stationed off the Gunfleet under the Earl of Dartmouth, an old and experienced commander, would have intercepted the prince in his voyage; but unfortunately for the king, the cruisers which the admiral had sent out to watch the approach of the enemy had been driven back by the violence of the wind, and when the fleet of the prince passed the Downs towards its destined place of disembarkation, the royal fleet was riding at anchor abreast of the Long-sand, several miles to leeward, with the yards and topmasts struck, and as twenty-four hours elapsed before it could be got ready to commence the pursuit, the commander, on the representation of his officers, desisted from the attempt.

As soon as the king had recovered from the panic into which the news of the prince's arrival had thrown him, he ordered twenty battalions of infantry and thirty squadrons of cavalry to march towards Salisbury and Marlborough, leaving six squadrons and six battalions behind to preserve tranquillity in the capital. The prince, who had been led to expect that he would be received with open arms by all classes on his arrival, met at first with a very cold reception, and he felt so disappointed that he even threatened to re-embark his army. Had James therefore adopted the advice given him by the King of France, to push forward his troops immediately in person, and attack the invader before the spirit of disaffection should spread, he might, perhaps, by one stroke, have for ever annihilated the hopes of his son-in-law and preserved his crown, but James thought and acted differently, and he soon had

cause to repent bitterly of the course he pursued. Owing to the open defection of some of his officers and the secret machinations of others, the king soon found, that with the exception perhaps of the Scottish regiments, he could no longer rely upon the fidelity of his army. On the twentieth of November he arrived at Salisbury, and reviewed a division of the army stationed there; and intended to inspect, the following day, another division which lay at Warminster; but being informed that General Kirk, its commander, the Lord Churchill and others had entered into a conspiracy to seize him and carry him a prisoner to the enemy's camp, he summoned a council of war, at which these officers were present, and, without making them aware that he was in the knowledge of such a plot, proposed a retreat beyond the Thames. This proposition met with a keen opposition from Churchill, but was supported by the Earl of Feversham, his brother, the Count de Roye, and the Earl of Dumbarton, who commanded one of the Scottish foot regiments. The proposal having been adopted, Churchill and some other officers went over to the prince during the night.

The army accordingly retired behind the Thames, and the king, without leaving any particular instructions to his officers, proceeded to London, to attend a Council of Peers which he had summoned to meet him at Whitehall. The departure of the king was a subject of deep regret to his real friends in the army, and particularly to the Earl of Dumbarton, and Lord Dundee, who had offered to engage the enemy with the Scots troops alone, but this offer his Majesty thought proper to decline, and in a conference which Dundee and the Earl of Balcarras afterward had with him in London, when he had made up his mind to retire to France, he gave them to understand that he meant to entrust the latter with the ad-

ministration of his civil affairs in Scotland, and to appoint the former the generalissimo of his forces.

In the Scottish Privy Council there were several persons who were inimical to the king, and who only watched an opportunity, when they should no longer consider themselves in danger, of offering their allegiance and services to the Prince of Orange. These were the Marquis of Athole, the Viscount Tarbet, and Sir John Dalrymple, the lord president of the Court of Session. The two latter, in conjunction with Balcarras, had been appointed by the Council to proceed to England, to obtain personally from the king the necessary instructions how to act on the landing of the prince in consequence of the stoppage of the despatches on the road; but they declined the journey on some frivolous pretexts, and Balcarras, a nobleman of undoubted loyalty, was obliged to go alone, and had the meeting with his Majesty to which allusion has been made. These counsellors were duly apprised of the advance of the prince, the defection of some of the king's officers, and of his return to London; but as the result of the struggle seemed still to be dubious, they abstained from openly declaring themselves, but in order to get rid of the chancellor, the Earl of Perth, and get the government into their own hands, as preliminary to their designs, Viscount Tarbet proposed that, with the exception of four companies of foot and two troops of horse to collect the revenue, the remainder of the troops should be disbanded, as he considered it quite unnecessary to keep up such a force in time of peace, as the Prince of Orange had stated in a declaration which he had issued, that that was one of the grievances complained of by the nation. The chancellor, not foreseeing the consequences, assented to the proposal, and he had the mortification, after the order for dismissal had

been given, to receive an intimation from the Marquis of Athole and his party who waited personally upon him at his lodgings, that as they considered it dangerous to act with him and other Catholic counsellors who were incapacitated by law, they meant to take the government into their own hands in behalf of the king, and they demanded that he and his party should retire from the administration of affairs. The Duke of Gordon and other Catholic members of the Council, on hearing of this proceeding, assembled in the chancellor's house to consult with him as to the nature of the answer which should be given to this extraordinary demand. As they saw resistance hopeless, particularly as from appearances the populace meant to join in enforcing the order, they advised the chancellor to submit, and, probably to avoid personal danger, he retired immediately to the country. A tumultuous mob, which had been drawn together by some evil-disposed persons after the departure of the chancellor, proceeded to the palace of Holyrood, to pull down the Chapel Royal; but they were repulsed with some loss by Captain Wallace, who had charge of the palace. A report having been instantly spread that Wallace was butchering the people, the whole of the inhabitants flew to arms, and a warrant having been granted to the magistrates of the city by the Marquis of Athole, the Earl of Breadalbane, Viscount Tarbet, and Sir John Dalrymple, to obtain possession of the palace from Wallace, they proceeded in their robes preceded by the town guard, a number of "discontented gentlemen," among whom was Lord Mersington, "the fanatic judge," as Lord Balcarras calls him, "with a halbert in his hand, as drunk as ale or brandy could make him." A mob of between two and three thousand persons formed the rear; but although Wallace was summoned to surrender by trumpet-

ers and heralds, he refused to obey unless they produced a warrant from the king and council. This refusal was immediately followed by an exchange of shots, which so terrified the magistrates and their friends, that they immediately sought for safety in the lanes and stairs of the adjoining houses. The contest was of short duration, for Wallace having imprudently advanced into the outer court of the palace, he was attacked in his rear by the town guard. He thereupon fled, leaving his men to defend themselves as best they could; but when they found that Wallace had abandoned them, they threw away their arms and cried out for quarter. Some, however, were killed by the infuriated mob, and the remainder were taken prisoners, of whom several afterward died of their wounds, others from starvation. The populace thereafter entered the chapel and palace, which they completely gutted, and broke into the Earl of Perth's cellars, which they emptied of their contents. In a state of beastly intoxication the rabble continued for two or three days, rambling through the city in quest of and plundering the houses of the few Catholic inhabitants, and committed the most atrocious acts upon the persons of some Catholic ladies, without any attempt being made by the public authorities to restrain such brutalities.

After these violences had in some degree subsided, the Marquis of Athole called a meeting of the council, and proposed an address of congratulation to the Prince of Orange, strongly expressive of gratitude to him for his generous undertaking to relieve them from popery and arbitrary power, and offering a tender of their services; but this address was warmly opposed by the two archbishops, Sir John Dalrymple, Sir George Mackenzie and others, and was finally negatived. They even opposed the voting of any address under existing cir-

cumstances, but the marquis and his party succeeded in carrying a short address, drawn up in general terms. Lord Glammis was sent up with it, but it was so different from what the prince expected, that it met with a very cold reception.

The fate of the unfortunate monarch had by this time been decided. Before his return to London a great defection had taken place among the officers of his army, and he had at last the mortification to see himself deserted by his son-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, and by his daughter, the Princess Anne, the wife of the prince, who, with a perfidy, which fortunately has had few parallels in the annals of filial depravity, had pledged her word to the Prince of Orange for the desertion of her husband six days before the return of her father to the capital. "God help me! my very children have forsaken me," such was the exclamation uttered by the unhappy monarch, his countenance suffused with tears, when he received the afflicting intelligence of the flight of Anne from Whitehall. When the king saw he could no longer resist the torrent of popular indignation, and that an imperious necessity required that he should leave the kingdom, his first solicitude was to provide for the safety of the queen and his son. The young prince was sent to Portsmouth, under the charge of Lord and Lady Powis, where they arrived on the first of December. A yacht was in readiness to receive them on board. Instructions had been privately sent to Lord Dartmouth, whose fleet lay at Spithead, to aid the escape of the prince; but the admiral, being influenced by some of the disaffected officers, excused himself from fulfilling the orders he had received. To prevent the danger of seizure, the king ordered three regiments to escort the prince back to the capital, where arrangements were made by Caryll, the queen's secretary, to effect

his escape down the river. The queen, who had hitherto refused to leave the king, consented, on receiving an assurance from him that he would follow her within twenty-four hours, to accompany the prince, and, accordingly at two o'clock in the morning of the tenth of December, she left Whitehall, disguised as an Italian lady, attended by a female Italian servant, and the nurse carrying the young prince in her arms. The whole party, although the night was dark and stormy, crossed the river, and landed on the opposite side of Lambeth. Here they expected to find a carriage in waiting to take them up, but unfortunately it had not arrived. The rain fell in torrents, and the party were obliged to shelter themselves under a high wall, exposed every moment to the risk of detection; but they were soon relieved from their perilous situation, carried to Gravesend, and put on board a yacht, in which were Lord and Lady Powis, and three Irish officers, who saw them safely landed at Calais. The king was soon relieved of the extreme anxiety he felt respecting them by the arrival of St. Victor, a French gentleman, who witnessed the departure of the yacht.

The resolution of the king to quit the kingdom was hastened after a fruitless attempt at negotiation with the Prince of Orange, by the appearance of an infamous proclamation, issued under the signature of the prince, which, though afterward disowned by him, was believed to be genuine at the time. In this paper, all Catholics who attempted to exercise any office in virtue of the royal authority, or who bore arms, or had arms in their houses, were denounced as banditti, robbers, and freebooters, to whom no quarter should be given, and all magistrates were called upon to disarm them, under the penalty of being answerable for all the Protestant blood which might be spilt, and the property of the Protestants

which might be destroyed, if the Catholics were allowed, through their negligence, to carry the dreadful designs imputed to them in the proclamation into effect. Having, therefore, made up his mind to follow the queen without delay, the king wrote a letter to the Earl of Feversham, the commander of the forces, intimating his intention, and after thanking him and the army for their loyalty, he informed them that he did not wish them any longer to run the risk of resisting "a foreign army and a poisoned nation." This letter he delivered, on the evening of the day of the queen's departure, to the Count de Roye, to be sent by him to his brother, the earl, after which he retired to rest. He rose shortly after midnight, and having disguised himself as a country gentleman, he left the palace, and descending by the back stairs, entered into a hackney coach, along with Sir Edward Hales, which conveyed them to the Horse ferry, whence they crossed the river, into which the king threw the great seal. From Vauxhall they proceeded towards the appointed place of embarkation, and arrived at Emley ferry near Feversham by ten o'clock. They embarked on board the custom-house hoy, but before she could be got ready for sea the king was apprehended, and placed under a strong guard.

An extraordinary sensation was created in London as soon as the king's flight was known. The fury of the populace against the Catholics, which had been excited to the highest pitch by the proclamation alluded to, now displayed itself in the demolition of the Catholic chapels, and in the plundering of the houses of the defenceless Catholics. The most absurd rumours, scarcely exceeded by the extravagancies of Oates's plot, were circulated by the disturbers of the public peace, and greedily swallowed by the unthinking multitude.

When the king's arrest was first reported in London,

the intelligence was not believed; but all uncertainty on the subject was removed by a communication from James himself in the shape of a letter, but without any address, which was put into the hands of Lord Mulgrave by a stranger at the door of the Council chamber at Whitehall. A body of about thirty peers and bishops had, on the flight of the king, formed themselves into a council, and had assumed the reins of government, and many of these, on this letter being read, were desirous of taking no notice of it, lest they might, by so doing, displease the prince. Lord Halifax, the chairman, who favoured the prince's designs, attempted to quash the matter, by adjourning the meeting, but Mulgrave prevailed on the members of the council to remain, and obtained an order to despatch the Earl of Feversham with two hundred of the life-guards to protect the person of the king.

On the arrival of Feversham the king resolved to remain in the kingdom, and to return to London, a resolution which he adopted at the urgent entreaty of Lord Winchelsea, whom, on his apprehension, he had appointed Lord Lieutenant of Kent. James was not without hopes that the prince would still come to terms, and to ascertain his sentiments he sent Feversham to Windsor to invite the prince to a personal conference in the capital, and to inform him that St. James's palace would be ready for his reception. The arrival of the earl with such a proposal was exceedingly annoying to William and his adherents, the former of whom, on the supposition that the king had taken a final adieu of the kingdom, had begun to act the part of the sovereign, while the latter were already intriguing for the great offices of the state. Instead of returning an answer to the king's message, William, on the pretence that Feversham had disbanded the army without orders,

and had come to Windsor without a passport, ordered him to be arrested, and committed a prisoner to the round tower, an order which was promptly obeyed.

At Rochester, whence he had despatched Feversham, the king was met by his guards, and thence proceeded to London, which he entered on the sixteenth of December amidst the acclamations of the citizens, and the ringing of bells, and other popular manifestations of joy, a remarkable proof of the instability and inconstancy of feeling which actuate masses of people in popular excitements. Whatever were the ideas of the king on this occasion as to his future prospects, the receipt of a letter, almost upon his arrival in the capital, from William, of which Zuleistein was the bearer, convinced him that he had now to do with a man who not merely aspired to his crown, but who already considered himself invested with sovereign authority. In this letter, William desired his uncle not to advance nearer London than Rochester. The letter of course was too late, and James, having again expressed his wish to Zuleistein for an interview with his son-in-law, the latter observed that his master must decline it as he could not venture his person among the royal troops. "Then," rejoined James, "let him come with his own guards to St. James's, and I will dismiss mine; for I am as well without any, as with those whom I dare not trust." But, in truth, William had no intention whatever of ever meeting his uncle.

As James conceived that the only chance he now had of securing the confidence of his subjects and preserving his crown, consisted in giving some signal proof of his sincerity to act constitutionally, he, on the morning following his interview with Zuleistein, made the humiliating offer to Lewis and Stamps, two of the city aldermen, to deliver himself up into their hands on re-

ceiving an assurance that the civil authorities would guarantee his personal safety, and to remain in custody till Parliament should pass such measures as might be considered necessary for securing the religion and liberties of the nation. But Sir Robert Clayton dissuaded the Common Council from entering into any engagement which the city might possibly be unable to fulfil, and thus a negotiation was dropped, which, if successful, might have placed William in a situation of great embarrassment.

But although James did not succeed in his offer to the city, his return to Whitehall had changed the aspect of affairs, and had placed William in a dilemma from which he could only extricate himself by withdrawing altogether his pretensions to the crown, or by driving his uncle out of it by force; but as he had already gone too far to adopt the first alternative, he consulted his friends, not collectively as heretofore, but individually and privately, as to the measures that should be adopted to get rid of the king. To secure the person of the king, and confine him a prisoner for life, seemed to be the most prevalent opinion among the prince's advisers; but William thought otherwise, and considered that the most safe and prudent course he could pursue would be to force James to leave the kingdom; but in such a manner as to induce the belief that he did so freely and of his own accord. Accordingly, to excite the king's alarms, a body of Dutch guards, by order of the prince, marched into Westminster, and, after taking possession of the palace of St. James, marched with their matches lighted to Whitehall, of which they also demanded possession. As resistance, owing to the great disparity of numbers, was considered by the king to be unavailing, he, contrary to the opinion of Lord Craven, the commander of his guards, who, though eighty years of age,

offered to oppose the invaders, ordered the guards to resign their posts, of which the Dutch took possession. This event took place late in the evening of the sixteenth of December.

The king, who was now in effect a prisoner within his own palace, overpowered with anxiety, retired to his pillow for repose, and soon fell asleep; but he had not slept long when he was awakened by the Earl of Middleton, who lay in the adjoining antechamber, and who had been roused from his slumbers by a loud knocking at the outer door, by some persons who demanded instant admission. These were the Lords Shrewsbury, Delamere, and Halifax, who had been sent by the prince from Sion house with a message to the king. James received these commissioners in bed. Halifax produced the instructions he and his colleagues were entrusted with, which were to this effect, that the king should quit Whitehall by ten o'clock next morning, as the prince meant to enter London about noon, and that he should retire to Ham, a house in Surrey belonging to the Dowager Duchess of Lauderdale, which had been provided for his reception. The king objected to Ham as a residence being uncomfortable, but stated his willingness to return to Rochester. Permission being granted by the prince, James left Whitehall about twelve o'clock noon, after taking an affectionate adieu of his friends, many of whom burst into tears. He embarked on board the royal barge, attended by Viscount Dundee and other noblemen, and descended the river, surrounded by several boats filled with Dutch guards, in presence of an immense concourse of spectators, many of whom witnessed with sorrow the humiliating spectacle.

The king arrived at Rochester the following day from Gravesend, where he had passed the previous night.

He remained four days at Rochester, where he received accounts from his adherents, many of whom openly and freely visited him, of the prince's proceedings in the metropolis, all of which evidently showed the prince's intentions to assume the crown. For some time James, in consequence of the conflicting opinions of his trusty friends, was irresolute whether to remain in England or to depart for France; but a proposal which he made to the bench of bishops, similar to that he had offered to the city of London, having been slighted, he no longer hesitated as to the course he should pursue. Having resolved to withdraw immediately from the kingdom, he drew up, the evening before his intended departure, a declaration of the motives which actuated him to leave the kingdom. He stated that he had adopted this resolution from a feeling of self-preservation, as he did not consider that his life would be safe in the hands of a man who had, without provocation, invaded his dominions, treated him as a prisoner, ordered him to quit his palace and his capital, and endeavoured to blacken his character by propagating the falsehood that he meant to palm a supposititious prince upon the nation. He declared, that as he was born free, he wished to remain so; and that as he was not yet too old to hazard, as he had often done before, his life for his country, he was ready to do so again, whenever the people, freed from the delusions under which they laboured, should call on him to come forward.

Having delivered this declaration to Lord Middleton, with instructions to publish it, and to whom, and other friends, he communicated his intention of departing early next morning, the king retired to rest; but he remained only a short time in bed, and, accompanied by two captains in the navy, his natural son, the Duke of Berwick, and a domestic, went on board the Eagle

fire-ship, being unable to reach, on account of the unfavourable state of the weather, a fishing smack which had been hired for his reception. On the following morning he went on board the smack, and after a boisterous voyage of two days, arrived at Ambleteuse, in France, on the twenty-fifth of December, and joined his wife and child, at the castle of Germain's, on the twenty-eighth. Thus ended the reign of a prince, who, whatever were his defects, was certainly, to use the words of an elegant historian, "more unfortunate than criminal."

Considering the crisis to which matters had arrived, the course which the king pursued of withdrawing from the kingdom was evidently the most prudent which could be adopted. All his trusty adherents in England were without power or influence, and in Scotland the Duke of Gordon was the only nobleman who openly stood out for the interests of his sovereign. He had been created a duke by Charles II. James had appointed him governor of the castle of Edinburgh, and he had been thereafter made a privy councillor and one of the lords of the treasury. Though a firm and conscientious Catholic, he was always opposed to the violent measures of the court, as he was afraid that however well meant, they would turn out ruinous to the king; not indeed that he did not wish to see the professors of the same faith with himself enjoy the same civil privileges as were enjoyed by his Protestant countrymen, but because he was opposed to the exercise of the dispensing power at a time when the least favour shown to the professors of the proscribed faith was denounced as an attempt to introduce popery. The king, influenced by some of his flatterers, received the duke coldly on his appearance at court in March, 1688, and curtailed some of his rights and privileges over the lands of some of his vassals in Badenoch. Even his fidelity appeared to be

questioned, by various acts of interference with the affairs of the castle, of which he disapproved. He resented these indignities by tendering his resignation of the various appointments he held from the Crown, and demanded permission from the king to retire beyond seas for a time; but James put a negative upon both proposals, and the duke returned to his post at Edinburgh.

Notwithstanding the bad treatment he had received, the duke, true to his trust, determined to preserve the castle of Edinburgh for the king, although the Prince of Orange should obtain possession of every other fortress in the kingdom. He requested the Privy Council to lay in a quantity of provisions and ammunition, but this demand was but partially attended to, for though the garrison consisted only of 120 men, there was not a sufficiency of materials for a three months' siege. After the tumult which took place in the city, the duke shut himself up in the castle, and invited the Earl of Perth, the chancellor, to join him; but the earl declined the offer, and, in attempting to make his escape to the continent, was seized near the Bass, in the Frith of Forth, by some seamen from Kirkaldy, under a warrant from the magistrates of that burgh, and committed to Stirling castle, where he remained a close prisoner for nearly four years. A few days after the duke had retired to the castle, an attempt was made by some of the prince's adherents to corrupt the fidelity of the garrison, by circulating a false report that the duke meant to make the whole garrison, who were chiefly Protestants, swear to maintain the Catholic religion. A mutiny was on the eve of breaking out, but it was detected by the vigilance of some officers. The duke, thereupon, drew out the garrison, assured them that the report in question was wholly unfounded,

and informed them that all he required of them was to take the oath of allegiance to the king, which being immediately tendered, was taken by the greater part of the garrison. Those who refused were at once dismissed. To supply the deficiency thus made, the duke sent notice to Francis Garden of Midstrath to bring up from the north forty-five of the best and most resolute men he could find on his lands; but, on their arrival at Leith, a hue and cry was raised that the duke was bringing down papists and Highlanders to overawe the Protestants. To calm the minds of the people, the duke ordered these men to return home.

As soon as the news of the arrival of the Prince of Orange in London, and the departure of the king, was received in Edinburgh, an immense concourse of persons, "of all sorts, degrees, and persuasions," who "could," says Balcarras, "scrape so much together" to defray their expenses, went up to London, influenced by motives of interest or patriotism. The Prince of Orange, who had fallen upon the wise expedient of obtaining all the legal sanction which, before the assembling of a Parliament, could be given to his assumption of the administration of public affairs in England, by the concurrence of a considerable body of the spiritual and temporal peers, and of a meeting composed of some members who had sat in the House of Commons during the reign of Charles II, and of the lord mayor of London, and fifty of the Common Council; he adopted the same expedient as to Scotland, and taking advantage of the great influx into the capital of noblemen and gentlemen from that country, he convened them together. A meeting was accordingly held at Whitehall, at which thirty noblemen and eighty gentlemen attended. The Duke of Hamilton, whose loyalty was regulated by the standard of interest, and who aimed at the chief direction of affairs

in Scotland, was chosen president. At this meeting a motion was made by the duke that a Convention of the Estates should be called as early as possible, and that an address should be presented to the prince to take upon him the direction of affairs in Scotland in the meantime; but this motion was unexpectedly opposed by the Earl of Arran, the duke's eldest son, who proposed that the king should be invited back on condition that he should call a free Parliament for securing the civil and religious liberties of Scotland. This proposition threw the assembly into confusion, and a short adjournment took place, but on resuming their seats, the earl's motion was warmly opposed by Sir Patrick Hume, and as none of the members offered to second it, the motion was consequently lost, and the duke's, being put to the vote, was carried. For a justification of the conduct of the king's friends, in withholding their support from Arran's motion, reference may be had to the memoirs of Balcarras.

A Convention of the Estates, called by circular letters from the prince, was accordingly appointed to be held at Edinburgh, on the fourteenth of March, 1689, and the supporters of the prince, as well as the adherents of the king, prepared to depart home to attend the ensuing election. But they were artfully detained by the prince till he should be declared king, that as many as might feel inclined might seal their new-born loyalty by kissing his hand; but the prince had to experience the mortification of a refusal even from some of those whom he had ranked amongst his warmest friends. The Earl of Balcarras and Viscount Dundee, the former of whom had, as before mentioned, been invested by the king with the civil, the latter with the military administration of affairs in Scotland, were the first of either party who arrived in Scotland, but not until

the end of February, when the elections were about to commence. On their arrival at Edinburgh they found the Duke of Gordon, who had hitherto refused to deliver up the castle, though tempted by the most alluring offers from the prince, about to capitulate, but they dissuaded him from this step, on the ground that the king's cause was not hopeless, and that the retention of such an important fortress was of the utmost importance.

The elections commenced. The inhabitants of the southern and western counties (for every Protestant, without distinction, was allowed to vote), alarmed for the extinction of their religious liberties, and excited by the recollection of the wrongs they and their forefathers had suffered, gave their suffrages to the popular candidate, and the adherents of the king soon perceived that the chances were against him. Yet, when the Convention met, a respectable minority seemed, notwithstanding, to be in favour of the king, but who had neither the courage nor address to oppose the popular current. To overawe, as is supposed, the adherents of the king, or to prevent the Convention from being overawed by the troops in the castle, the Duke of Hamilton and his friends, a few days before the meeting of the Convention, introduced a considerable number of armed men into Edinburgh, some of whom were concealed in cellars and houses, ready to act as occasion might require. The first trial of strength between the two parties took place on the election of a president. To the Duke of Hamilton the adherents of the king opposed the Marquis of Athole, who, in consequence of being slighted by the prince, had promised his support to the royal party; but the duke was elected by a considerable majority. This vote sealed the fate of the Tory party, and many who had hitherto wavered in

their allegiance now openly abandoned the cause of their sovereign. A committee was appointed to report upon disputed elections, but being composed of the Whig party, many of the Tory returns, contrary to every principle of law, were declared null. The consequence was, that within a few days the number of the adherents of the king was greatly reduced.

The first act of the Convention was to send the Earls of Tweeddale and Leven with an order to the Duke of Gordon to deliver up the castle within twenty-four hours. The duke, overcome by the smooth and insinuating behaviour of Tweeddale, reluctantly yielded, and promised to surrender the castle next morning at ten o'clock. When this answer was brought to the Convention, Balcarras and Dundee were alarmed, and immediately despatched a confidential servant to the duke reminding him of his promise to hold out, and imploring him not to give way. The duke wavered, but on obtaining a writing which he required under the hands of these noblemen that the retention of the castle was absolutely necessary for the success of the king's affairs, and being visited by Lord Dundee the following morning, who impressed on him the importance of holding out, he resolved to break with the Convention; and to prepare matters in the north he despatched thither the Earl of Dunfermline, his brother-in-law, to whom he granted a written commission, authorizing him to raise his friends and vassals in support of the king.

In consequence of the refusal of the duke to deliver up the castle, he was, by order of the Convention, summoned by the heralds at the gate of the castle to surrender, and a proclamation was read at the same time prohibiting all persons from having any communication with him, and promising a reward of six months' pay to the Protestants in the garrison who should seize him

and deliver him and the castle up to the Convention. The duke addressed the heralds from within the gate, and told them, that he kept the castle by commission from their common master, and would defend it to the last extremity; and after handing them some guineas, which he requested they would spend in drinking the king's health, and the healths of all his loyal subjects, he facetiously advised them not to proclaim men traitors with the king's coats on their backs till they had turned them. Upon the departure of the heralds, the duke drew out the garrison and gave them their option, either to remain in the castle and share with him the dangers that awaited them, or to depart. Upwards of a third of the garrison took advantage of the permission to depart, and left the castle on that and the following day.

Whilst matters were in this state, a messenger arrived with a letter from William to the Convention, and almost at the same time one Crane, an Englishman, also arrived, who was the bearer of a letter to the same body from the exiled monarch. A warm debate took place on the letters being produced as to the order in which they should be read, but on a vote being taken, it was decided that the prince's communication, which contained a proposal for the union of England and Scotland, should be first read. Before reading or even opening James's letter, however, the Convention passed the following resolution: "Forasmuch as there is a letter from King James the Seventh presented to the meeting of the Estates, that they, before opening thereof, declare and enact, that, notwithstanding anything that may be contained in that letter for dissolving them, or impeding their procedure, yet that they are a free and lawful meeting of the Estates, and will continue undissolved until they settle and secure the Protestant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdoms."

In this letter, James implored the Convention, as faithful subjects, to support his interests, and he informed them, that should any attempt be made by foreigners to interfere with them, he would afford them assistance. To all who should return to their duty before the last day of the month, he offered pardon; but he declared his resolution to punish those who should resist his authority. No answer was returned to this letter, and the bearer of it was doomed to suffer a short imprisonment.

As the king's friends saw that any efforts they could make in the Convention, after the reception his letter had met with, would be quite unavailing, they agreed at a private meeting which they held on the seventeenth of March, to repair to Stirling and there hold a convention by themselves. This resolution was adopted agreeably to the wish of the king himself, who, in anticipation of what would happen in the convention called by the prince, had sent a written authority, dated from Ireland, empowering the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Earl of Balcarras, and Viscount Dundee to call a meeting of the Estates at Stirling. Balcarras and Dundee received an assurance from the Marquis of Athole, who, ever since the cold reception he had met with from William, had been wonderfully loyal, that he would accompany them, and a similar promise was obtained from the Earl of Mar, governor of Stirling castle. Athole, however, began to waver, a circumstance which deferred the departure of the king's friends.

Here it may not be improper to notice a circumstance which probably had its weight in the deliberations preceding the departure of Dundee. On the morning of sixteenth March, just as Lord Dundee was on the point of going to the Convention, he was waited upon by James Binnie, a dyer, who informed him that he had

overheard a conversation the day before among some persons of their intention of murdering him and Sir George Mackenzie, and Binnie offered, if a warrant were granted him, to apprehend them. Dundee immediately went to the Convention and applied for protection, but they refused to act in the matter, and passed to the order of the day. Whether this affair was the device of the Whig party, as has been supposed, to get quit of two individuals particularly obnoxious to them, there are no means of ascertaining; but when the circumstances of the times, and the opinions then held by many of the people are considered, the design of assassinating them is far from improbable.

But be this as it may, Dundee resolved to remain as short as possible in a place where he might be every moment exposed to the dagger of the assassin; and, accordingly, he and his friends fixed on Monday, the eighteenth of March, for their departure for Stirling. With the exception of Dundee, they all assembled at the appointed place of rendezvous in the city at the hour which had been fixed; but as the Marquis of Athole, who had promised to accompany them and to protect them on their arrival at Stirling with a body of his vassals, wished them to postpone their departure till the following day, they consented to remain, and were in the act of dispersing and proceeding to the Convention when Dundee made his appearance. Such an unexpected resolution greatly surprised him, but he told Balcarras, that whatever were the views of his friends, he would not remain another day in Edinburgh. Balcarras remonstrated with him, and represented that his departure would give the alarm to their enemies, who would not fail to take advantage of the discovery; but he replied, that as he had a select body of between forty and fifty troopers ready mounted and

prepared to start, he would not remain any longer within the city, but would clear the walls with his party and wait without for such friends as might choose to join him. Dundee accordingly left the city at the head of his troopers, to go, as he is said to have emphatically replied to a friend who put the interrogatory to him, wherever the spirit of Montrose should direct. After passing the Netherbow port, he turned to the left down Leith Wynd, and after clearing the suburbs of the Calton, he faced to the west, and proceeded along the line of road known at the time by the name of the Lang Gate, and which now forms the splendid terrace of Princes Street. On arriving opposite the castle, Dundee ordered his men to halt, and alighting from his horse, he clambered up the steep precipice on the west side of that fortress, and from the bottom of the wall held a conference with the Duke of Gordon, who stood in an adjoining postern gate immediately above. No account has been preserved of the nature of the conversation which passed between these two devoted adherents of the king, but it is understood that the viscount entreated the duke to hold out the castle as long as he could, and that he would endeavour to raise the siege as soon as he had collected sufficient forces.

The unexpected appearance of Dundee riding down the High Street of Edinburgh in open day at the head of his troopers had attracted a considerable number of spectators, and before he reached the Lang Gate, the whole population was in motion, many of whom left the city and witnessed at some distance the interview between the two noblemen. Intelligence of Dundee's departure, and his conference with the duke, was immediately brought to the Convention, which was sitting at the time, and created a great sensation. Reports the most unfavourable were raised, and brought by

messengers to the Convention, that crowds were flocking to Dundee's standard, that their design was to attack the Convention, and that the Duke of Gordon meant to fire upon the city. In the midst of the confusion and alarm occasioned by these rumours, the Duke of Hamilton addressed the Convention in a very angry tone, and told them that the time was now come when the members should look to their own safety, and as he had no doubt there were enemies among them who were privy to Dundee's designs, he proposed, in order to prevent their escape, that the doors of the Convention should be bolted and the keys laid upon the table. This motion being agreed to, the Earl of Leven was directed to assemble some forces, which had been brought into the city by the Tory lords, for their protection; but their fears were soon dispelled by the departure of Dundee for the west, and by the return, to the city, of the inhabitants who had gone out to witness the exhibition; and whose appearance near Dundee's troopers had given rise to the report that they had joined him. The Convention despatched a Major Bunting with a party of horse in pursuit, but although he overtook Dundee, he had not the courage to attack him, alarmed by a threat with which, it is said, Dundee menaced him, that he would send him (Bunting) back to the Convention, in a pair of blankets, did he dare to molest him. Dundee crossed Stirling bridge the second day of his departure, and proceeded to his residence of Dudhope, near Dundee, to ruminate over the events which had just passed, and to concoct his plans, under the new and extraordinary circumstances in which he was placed, for the restoration of James.

CHAPTER VIII

WILLIAM AND MARY

The idea of setting up a counter convention at Stirling was immediately abandoned on the departure of Dundee from the capital. The Marquis of Athole, whom the adherents of the king had chosen for their leader, showed no disposition to follow Dundee, and the Earl of Mar, who to save his loyalty made a feint to escape by the only guarded way, was apprehended, not unwillingly, as is supposed, by the sentinels, and brought back, but was released on giving his parole that he would not leave the city without the permission of the Convention. The ambiguous conduct of these two noblemen tended to cool the ardour of the few remaining adherents of the king, some of whom resolved to support the new order of things, whilst others, less pliant, absented themselves wholly from the Convention. That assembly, after passing an act approving of the conduct of the English Convention, in requesting the Prince of Orange (now declared King of England) to take upon him the administration of the affairs of that kingdom, acknowledged their obligations to him as the assertor of their liberties, and also entreated him to assume the management of the affairs of Scotland. The Convention, thereupon, despatched Lord Ross with a letter to William, embodying these sentiments in answer to the communication he had sent them, in which, moreover, they thanked him for having called them together, and declared that they would take effectual measures for the security

of religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom.

Popular as the steps were which the Convention was about to take, for settling the government of the nation, with the great body of the people, they were not insensible to the probability of a formidable opposition being raised to their plans, by a bold and determined band of Royalists in the north, who, headed by such a warlike and experienced commander as Dundee, might involve the whole kingdom in a civil war. To prepare, therefore, against such an emergency, the Convention, before proceeding to the important business for which it had assembled, issued a proclamation requiring all persons from sixteen to sixty, and capable of bearing arms, to put themselves in readiness to take the field when called upon. They deprived all militia officers, suspected of attachment to the king, of their commissions, and filled up the vacancies thus occasioned by others on whom they could rely. Sir Patrick Hume, who lay under an attainder for the part he took in Argyle's rebellion, was appointed to the command of a horse militia, and the Earl of Leven was nominated to the command of a body of eight hundred men, raised for a guard to the city of Edinburgh.

Backed by these, and by about eleven hundred men of the Scotch brigade from Holland, which arrived at Leith from England, on the twenty-fifth of March, under General Mackay, as major-general of all the forces in Scotland,[18] and by a force of two hundred dragoons which were also sent from England, the leaders of the Convention proposed that a committee of eight lords, eight knights, and eight burgesses should be appointed to prepare and report upon a plan of settling the government. The Archbishop of Glasgow and a few other adherents of the king, who still remained in

the Convention, made a bold stand against such an appointment, but they were outvoted. The committee, after considerable discussion, agreed to the following resolution on the motion of Sir John Dalrymple, who, in a speech of powerful reasoning, exposed the unmeaning application of the term abdicate, which had been used by the English Convention, in answer to some members, who proposed that the committee should adopt the same form of proceeding. "The estates of the kingdom of Scotland, find and declare, that King James the Seventh being a profest Papist, did assume the royal power, and act as a king without ever taking the oath as required by law; and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy, to an arbitrary despotic power, and had governed the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government, whereby he had forfaulted the right of the crown, and the throne was become vacant." Upon the bringing up of the report, this vote was warmly opposed by Ross, Bishop of Edinburgh, who proposed that the king should be invited to return to his Scottish dominions; but the bishop had few supporters, and the report was approved of by a very great majority.

The throne being then declared vacant, the Convention, on the motion of the Duke of Hamilton, appointed the committee to draw up an act for settling the crown of Scotland upon William and Mary, and they were also instructed to prepare an instrument or declaration for preventing a recurrence of the grievances, of which the nation complained. On the eleventh of April, the committee made their report, which was

immediately passed into a law without opposition, and solemnly proclaimed same day at the market-cross of Edinburgh, in presence of the lord provost and magistrates of the city, and a large concourse of the nobility and gentry. A proclamation was published at the same time, prohibiting all persons from acknowledging, corresponding with, or assisting the late king, and forbidding them in any way from disputing or disowning the new sovereigns, or from misconstruing the proceedings of the Estates, under severe penalties. The Earl of Argyle on the part of the lords, Sir James Montgomery for the knights, and Sir John Dalrymple for the burghs, were thereupon despatched to London to offer the crown to William and Mary, on the conditions stipulated by the Convention. The commissioners were introduced to their Majesties at Whitehall, on the eleventh of May, and were of course well received, but on the coronation oath being presented to them by the Earl of Argyle, William, who was rather disposed to support Episcopacy in Scotland, demurred to take it, as it appeared by a clause which it contained, importing that their Majesties should root out heresy, and all enemies to the true worship of God, to lay him under an obligation to become a persecutor. This difficulty, which it is evident was well founded, was however got over by the commissioners declaring that such was not the meaning or import of the oath.

The Convention, having thus completed the object for which it was assembled, adjourned to the twenty-first day of May, not however till it had passed an act at utter variance with those principles of constitutional liberty, which it professed to establish. By this act the Duke of Hamilton was vested with full power and authority to imprison any person he might suspect of disaffection to the new government, a violent and ar-

[illegible] extraordinary circumstances of the times would justify. The Earl of Shrewsbury and Viscount Lumley were created on the first evening of the coronation [illegible]. The banquet had been already prepared at Whitehall and served by the Commissioners, the splendid plate and furniture, but he had hitherto shown no resentment, by remonstrance or [illegible] from the King, determined even not to leave the field till a body of the Irish Army, and three hundred horse which he promised to send him from Ireland, should land in Scotland. These reinforcements, which had been promptly sent to him by a messenger named Hay, were again recalled by this Envoy, whom the King sent over [illegible], but who having secretly made the Treasurer, who accompanied him to Scotland, privy to them, he was apprehended, and being carried before the Duke he confessed the whole affair, and informed on the bottom, of which he was the author.

The discovery hastened the determination of the Duke to arrest Shrewsbury and Lumley, who accordingly [illegible] the Earl of Lumley with a party of two hundred men to apprehend them. Shrewsbury was seized at the [illegible] and, carried to Whitehall, and imprisoned in the Admiralty Office, which he was allowed to leave [illegible] by the Queen's order to accompany her Majesty, who had received notice of the approach of the party, retired from the house at Kingston to another country seat, called Hanwell, in Oxfordshire, which he soon afterwards left for the Continent, on the appearance of the Prince [illegible] at the head of a body of Dragoons.

The Duke's measures which failed had now with an Ireland, and the discovery which the adherents of William in Scotland had made of his intention to land

an army in Scotland, joined to the fact that the great body of the Highlanders, and almost the whole of the Episcopal party in the north, were hostile to the recent change in the government, could not fail to excite alarm in the minds of the partisans of the new dynasty. The brilliant achievements of Montrose had shown how inadequate the peaceful inhabitants of the south, though impelled by the spirit of religious fanaticism, were to contend with the brave and hardy mountaineers of the north, and as Dundee, as they were aware, was desirous of emulating his great predecessor, and was engaged in an active correspondence with the Highland chiefs, they must necessarily have looked forward to a long and bloody, and perhaps a doubtful, contest.

As Dundee possessed the confidence of the Highland clans, and as he looked chiefly to them for support in his attempt to restore the exiled monarch, Viscount Tarbat, one of the ablest politicians of the period, proposed a plan for detaching the chiefs from the cause of James, some of whom he averred were not so inimical to William nor so attached to James, as was supposed, but who, jealous of the power of Argyle, were justly apprehensive that if, as appearances indicated, that nobleman acquired an ascendency in the national councils, he would make use of his power to oppress them, and would obtain a revocation of the grants of certain lands which belonged to his family and which had been forfeited in the reign of Charles II. Besides these reasons, there was another which was supposed to influence others in their determination to restore the fallen dynasty, and thereby crush the rising power of Argyle, viz., that they were greatly in arrears to him as his superior. Tarbat, therefore, suggested to General Mackay that an attempt should be made, in the first place, to obtain the submission of these last by making them an offer to dis-

charge Argyle's claims against their lands, which he computed would amount to £5,000 sterling, and that a separate offer should be made to the chief of the Macleans to make good a transaction which had been in part entered upon between him and the late earl for adjusting their differences. This plan was approved of by the English government, but the affair is said to have been marred by the appointment of Campbell of Cawdor as negotiator, who was personally obnoxious to the chiefs. Mackay attempted to open a correspondence with Cameron of Lochiel on the subject, but could obtain no answer, and Macdonell of Glengarry, to whom he also made a communication, heartily despising the bribe, advised the general, in return, to imitate the conduct of General Monk, by restoring James.

On leaving his residence at Glenoglevy, Dundee crossed the Dee, and entered the Duke of Gordon's country, the inhabitants of which were friendly to the cause of James, and where he was joined by about fifty horse under the Earl of Dunfermline, who, as has been stated, was sent north by the Duke of Gordon to raise his vassals in support of his royal master. Whilst Dundee was occupied in raising forces in this district, Mackay was despatched from Edinburgh with a considerable body of troops in pursuit. Mackay appointed the town of Dundee as the rendezvous for his troops, being the best station he could select for keeping the adjoining country, which was disaffected to the new government, in awe, and whence he could send parties to the north to watch the motions of Dundee. On arriving at Dundee, Mackay, leaving a part of his troops there under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, proceeded north with a body of about five hundred men, consisting of nearly an equal number of horse and foot, in quest of the viscount. At Brechin

he received intelligence that Dundee, ignorant of course of Mackay's movements, was on his return to his seat of Glenoglevy in the braes of Angus, that he had already passed the Cairn-a-mount, and that he was expected to pass the night at Fettercairn, only a few miles north from Brechin. To prevent all knowledge of his approach, Mackay posted a party of fifty dragoons and a similar number of foot under his nephew Major Æneas Mackay, at the north water or Gannachy bridge, for the purpose of preventing any communication during the night with Fettercairn, and with the intention of entering the village by break of day and surprising Dundee; but the viscount, who had been apprised of Mackay's movements, avoided the snare and recrossed the Dee.

As soon as Mackay was informed of this retrograde movement, he resolved to pursue Dundee, and, if possible, to overtake him before he should have time to collect any considerable body of forces. With a small but select body of horse and foot, therefore, he crossed the Dee at Kincardine, in the expectation of being joined in the course of his march by some country gentlemen who had given him assurances of support before leaving Edinburgh. In this expectation however he was sadly disappointed, for, with the exception of the master of Forbes, who met him after he had crossed the Dee, with a party of forty gentlemen of his name on horseback and a body of between five and six hundred men on foot, not one of them showed any inclination to join him. The fact was that, with few exceptions, the people residing to the north of the Tay, were either indifferent to the course of events, or were opposed upon principle to any change in the hereditary succession to the crown, which many of them considered an infraction of the divine law, and which they believed no

THE FRASER
BEAUFORT CASTLE

misconduct on the part of the king could justify. No man knew these things better than Dundee, who calculated that by means of this feeling he would soon be able to arouse the warlike north against the more peaceful south. But valuable as such a body of auxiliaries as that brought by the master of Forbes may be supposed to have been under these circumstances, Mackay, who had been accustomed to the finest troops in Europe, considered that they would be of no service to him, as, according to his own account, they were "ill armed," and appeared "little like the work" for which they were intended. He therefore declined the services of the Forbeses in the meantime, and after thanking the master for having brought them together, he ordered him to dismiss them to their homes, with instructions that they should reassemble whenever a necessity occurred for defending their own country against the inroads of Dundee.

Having received intelligence of Dundee's route through Strathdon toward Strathbogie, Mackay continued his march in that direction through Aberdeenshire and Moray. On arriving at Strathbogie, he was informed that Dundee had crossed the Spey with about 150 horse without opposition, although Mackay had given particular instruction to the laird of Grant, while in Edinburgh, to occupy all the fords of that river. Mackay also learned, on the following day, by a letter sent to him by the magistrates of Elgin, which had been addressed to them by Dundee, that the viscount was at Inverness, that he had been there joined by Macdonald of Keppoch at the head of a thousand Highlanders, and that he intended to make Elgin his headquarters preparatory to an attack upon Mackay. The accession of the Macdonalds was of immense importance to Dundee, and was as seasonable as unexpected. The cause of their as-

sembling was this. A deadly feud had for some time existed between Macdonald and Mackintosh, arising out of certain claims by the former upon the lands of the latter; and to such a pitch of armed violence did Keppoch carry his pretensions, that James II felt himself called upon to interfere, by issuing a commission of fire and sword against him as a rebel. Keppoch, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the government, renewed his claims against Mackintosh; and having defeated the Mackintoshes in battle, he had advanced to Inverness, the inhabitants of which had supported the Mackintoshes against him, and was threatening to wreak his vengeance upon them if they did not purchase forbearance by paying him a large pecuniary fine. It was at this critical moment that Dundee arrived, who, anxious at once to secure the aid of Keppoch and the friendship of the citizens of Inverness, who had only a few days before proclaimed the Prince of Orange, interposed between them and their exasperated foe, by granting the haughty chief his own bond in behalf of the town, by which he obliged himself to see Keppoch paid the sum of $2,000 as a compensation for the losses and injuries he alleged he had sustained at the hands of the Mackintoshes. To reconcile the two chieftains, with the view of obtaining the coöperation of both, was the next object of Dundee, but Mackintosh refused to attend a friendly interview solicited by Dundee; and to punish him for his obstinacy, Keppoch, at the desire of the viscount, drove away his cattle, part of which was kept for the use of the army, and the rest was appropriated by Keppoch's tenants.

The news of the junction of the Keppoch Highlanders with Dundee, and of their intention to march to the south, was exceedingly disconcerting to Mackay, who

had advanced into a hostile country with a handful of troops quite incapable of resisting the powerful force now opposed to them. The obvious and apparently most prudential course which presented itself was, on the approach of the enemy, to make a sure and as slow a retreat as possible, and to bring up the forces which he had left behind him; but Mackay, rightly judging that a retreat, besides giving Dundee the command of a large tract of country favourable to his views, might create an impression that his adversary was much stronger than he really was, resolved not only to stand firm, but even to cross the Spey, and take possession of Elgin before Dundee should arrive there. Accordingly, after despatching a courier to bring up his reserves from Brechin without delay, he crossed the Spey and advanced upon Elgin, with his dragoons at a hard trot, followed by two hundred veteran foot, who were so desirous of coming to action that they kept up with the horse the whole way from the river to the town. From Elgin, Mackay despatched messengers to some of the principal Whig proprietors in Moray, Ross, and Sutherland, desiring them to prepare themselves for joining him as soon as they should receive his orders.

Mackay lay a few days at Elgin, in expectation of Dundee's advance; but as he did not appear, Mackay, who had just received a reinforcement of horse from Brechin, left Elgin and took the road to Inverness. When he reached Forres, he ascertained that Dundee had left Inverness, and had crossed the heights of Badenoch on his way to Athole. It is said that Dundee intended to have advanced upon Elgin, and to have engaged Mackay, but he was counteracted in his design by the refusal of a party of Camerons, who were under Keppoch, to march without the consent of their chief.

The real cause appears to be, that having taken a considerable quantity of booty, they were desirous of securing it before meeting the enemy. Mackay continued his march to Inverness, where he was joined by five hundred of the Mackays, Grants, and Rosses. From Inverness, he despatched couriers to the adherents of the new government in the north to join him; and at the same time sent an express to Colonel Balfour at Edinburgh, to despatch Colonel Ramsay north with a select body of six hundred men to be drawn from the Dutch regiments. To effect as speedy a junction with him as possible, Mackay directed that Ramsay should march through Athole and Badenoch.

Dundee, on the other hand, was no less busy in his preparations for the ensuing campaign. He never ceased to carry on an active correspondence with many of the Highland chieftains whose confidence he possessed; and on his march through Badenoch he received the most gratifying assurances of support from the gentlemen of that country, with the exception of Mackintosh, who, as has been stated, had his cattle carried off by Dundee's orders. Having fixed upon Lochaber as the most central and convenient district for mustering his forces, Dundee appointed the friends of King James to assemble there on the eighteenth of May, and in the meantime he descended into Athole, with a body of 150 horse, where he met with a cordial reception from Stewart of Ballechen, factor or steward to the Marquis of Athole, and from the other vassals of the marquis. Whether Stewart and the other gentlemen of the district, in taking this decided part, acted from a private understanding with their chief, who still remained at Edinburgh, where he had given in an equivocal adherence to the government, or whether they were yet ignorant of the course he meant to follow, are questions which,

for want of information, do not admit of solution, but the omission on the part of the marquis to send instructions to Stewart to raise a body of four hundred Athole Highlanders, to oppose the passage of Dundee through his bounds to the south, should he attempt it, to which effect he had pledged himself to Mackay, before the latter left Edinburgh for the north, raises a suspicion that the gentlemen of Athole acted agreeably to the understood wishes of their chief.

Being informed that the lairds of Blair and Pollock were lying in Perth with a troop of horse, which they had raised for the service of the government, Dundee determined to surprise them, and accordingly he left Athole, and proceeded with celerity during the night towards Perth, which he entered unawares early next morning, and seized both these gentlemen and two other officers in their beds and carried them off prisoners. He also took away thirty horses and a sum of nine thousand merks of the public revenue which he found in the office of the collector; but in accordance with the principle which he says he had laid down for the rule of his conduct, to do nothing but " for conscience and loyalty's sake," he prohibited every interference with private property; and though he found a sum of about £500 in the same room where the cess and excise duties which he carried off, lay, he left it untouched when he understood that it was private property. Leaving Perth, Dundee ranged through Angus, augmenting his horse, and after an ineffectual attempt to surprise Lord Rollo, who was raising a troop of horse, he appeared before the town of Dundee, then guarded by two troops of Livingston's dragoons. Their commander, unwilling to encounter Dundee, shut himself up in the town, and the viscount, after spending two nights at Dudhope, his country seat, returned to the Highlands,

to meet his friends at the appointed place of rendezvous.

During all this time, Mackay remained at Inverness, waiting for the arrival of Ramsay's detachment from the south, which he had long and anxiously looked for, but which was detained from a cause of which he was ignorant. The cause was this. In conformity with Mackay's orders, Colonel Balfour immediately put the troops under Colonel Ramsay in readiness to march, but just as they were about to pass across the Frith of Forth, from Leith to Burntisland, an alarm was created by the appearance of a large number of vessels at the mouth of the Frith, which were at once supposed to be a French fleet with troops on board for the purpose of making a descent upon the coast in support of Dundee. As the seizure of the capital, it was naturally supposed, would be the first object of the invaders, the embarkation of Ramsay's detachment, which in such an event would be necessary for its defence, was countermanded; but in two or three days the fears of the government were dispelled, by having ascertained that the fleet in question consisted of a number of Dutch herring busses which were proceeding on their annual voyage to their fishing stations on the northern coast. This delay occasioned great embarrassment to the operations of Mackay, and almost proved fatal to him, as Dundee was thereby enabled to throw himself with a large force between Mackay and Ramsay's corps, and to threaten both with annihilation.

In terms of his instructions, Ramsay, after reaching Perth, proceeded through Athole, on his way to Inverness. Though the Athole men, many of whom he found armed, offered no opposition to his march, yet as everything around him assumed a warlike appearance, and as reports were continually brought to him, that Dundee

had placed himself between him and Mackay, with a very large force, he grew alarmed, and so strong had his fears become when within a dozen miles of Ruthven in Badenoch, that he resolved to return to Perth. He had previously despatched a letter to Mackay, informing him of his advance, and appointing him to meet him at Ruthven on a given day, but he neglected to send another express acquainting Mackay of his design to return to Perth. The retreat of Ramsay was disorderly, and some of his men deserted. The Athole men, who kept hovering about him, were desirous of attacking him, but they were prevented, though with difficulty, by the gentlemen of the district. It was on a Saturday night that Mackay received Ramsay's despatch, and so anxious was the general to form a speedy junction with Ramsay's detachment, that he left Inverness the following morning, taking with him only two days' provisions. When about half way between Inverness and Ruthven, he received an express from the governor of the castle, informing him of Ramsay's retreat, and that Dundee had entered Badenoch on Sunday morning (the morning of Mackay's march from Inverness) with an immense force, and was within a few miles of the castle.

To understand the cause of this speedy movement on the part of Dundee, it is necessary to state, that two or three days before Ramsay's arrival in Athole, Stewart of Ballechen had intercepted a despatch from Mackay, which he forwarded to Dundee, and who, in consequence, became acquainted with their plan of uniting their forces. To counteract which, and that he might have an opportunity of successively attacking, and probably destroying both divisions, he had hastened from the place of rendezvous in Lochaber into Badenoch, with a force of two thousand men, which was shortly increased to three thousand. Yet, notwithstanding the discovery

thus made by Dundee of Mackay's intentions, the information would not have availed him, had Ramsay, instead of being intimidated by the false intelligence he received, continued his march; for, according to Mackay's own calculations, he might have reached Ruthven on Saturday night, before Dundee entered Badenoch, and, even if Dundee had followed him, he could have made a safe retreat into the laird of Grant's territory, where he would have been supported by a body of seven or eight hundred men.

The first person who had met Dundee in Lochaber on the appointed day was Glengary, who had with him a body of between two and three hundred men. He was followed by Macdonald of Morer, at the head of nearly two hundred of Clan Ranald's men, and by Appin and Glenco, with about the same number of men. Dundee had been subsequently joined by Lochiel, who had six hundred men under him, and by Keppoch, at the head of two hundred; but Sir Alexander Maclean, who had promised also to attend, failed to appear.

The intelligence communicated by the commander of Ruthven castle was exceedingly perplexing to Mackay, who must have felt keenly the disappointment of Ramsay's flight. He saw himself with a handful of men surrounded by a warlike and hostile population, and within a short march of a powerful force, which he could not singly resist; with few friends on whom he could place much reliance, and who, either lukewarm in the cause for which he had taken the field, or indifferent to the result of the ensuing contest, were ready to desert him when fortune should appear to declare against him. He had, in the unfortunate situation in which he was placed, only a choice of evils before him. To have proceeded on his march, with the view of cutting his way through the enemy, would have been, even if

practicable, an imprudent and very dangerous step, and to have taken up a position in a district where he would have been exposed to be surrounded and cut off from his resources would have been equally rash. He had, therefore, no alternative which he could prudently adopt, but either to fall back upon Inverness, or retire down the vale of the Spey. He preferred the latter course for these reasons, that although such a movement would leave Inverness quite exposed to Dundee's army, that disadvantage would be more than counterbalanced by the protection which would be thereby afforded to the laird of Grant's lands, near the borders of which Dundee was now hovering, and by the obstruction which the interposition of Mackay's troops would present to any attempt on the part of Dundee to recruit his army in the Duke of Gordon's country. Besides, by making Strathspey the scene of his operations, Mackay expected to be able to keep up a communication with the south through Angus and Aberdeenshire, and the adjoining parts of Moray, which he could not maintain if he returned to Inverness.

Accordingly, after despatching an express to Inverness, apprising the garrison of his intentions, and promising assistance, should Dundee venture to attack the town, Mackay began a rapid march towards Strathspey, which he continued during the night, and did not halt till he had descended a considerable way down that vale. Dundee, who had closely pursued him, afraid of exposing his men to the attacks of Mackay's cavalry, did not follow him after he had gained the flatter part of the Strath, but kept aloof at the distance of some miles in a more elevated position where he encamped. Notwithstanding his inferiority in point of numbers, the revolutionary general determined to endeavour to allure Dundee from his stronghold by offering him battle, and having

refreshed his men, wearied by a long march of twenty-four hours, he advanced next morning to within a mile of Dundee's camp, and, after reconnoitring the position of the enemy, made preparations for receiving them; but Dundee, secure from danger, by the nature of the ground he occupied, showed no disposition to engage. It is probable that, in acting thus passively, he was influenced by the conduct of the Highlanders, who were averse to engage with cavalry, and some of whom (the Camerons, according to Mackay) fled to the neighbouring hills on Mackay's approach. Seeing no hope of drawing the viscount out of his trenches, Mackay returned in the evening to his camp, which he removed the following day to Colmnakill, about six miles lower down the Spey, where he considered himself more secure from any sudden surprise or attack, and where he was speedily joined by two groups of Livingston's dragoons from Dundee. The ground occupied by Mackay was a spacious plain, bounded on the south by the Spey, which effectually protected his rear, whilst his front was covered by a wood and some marshes which skirted the plain on the north. The right of Mackay's position was protected by a small river with a rough and stony bottom. The general himself took up his quarters at Belcastle, a summer-house in the neighbourhood belonging to the laird of Grant, whence he despatched ten or twelve of Grant's tenants, selected by Grant himself as the most intelligent and trustworthy, to watch and bring him notice of Dundee's motions. These scouts kept up a constant communication with Mackay, who received a personal report from one or other of them almost every alternate hour. In the meantime, he kept his whole army under arms, and to prevent surprise, small parties of horse and dragoons patrolled the neighbouring woods, and some foot were stationed along

the banks of the little river on the right. But these precautions would probably have been unavailing, if the government general had not timeously been made acquainted with the fact, that there were enemies in his camp who were watching an opportunity to betray him.

For some time, a report had been current that Livingston's regiment of dragoons were disaffected to the government; but as Mackay could not trace the rumour to any authentic source, he disbelieved it, and to mark his confidence in their fidelity, he had ordered the two troops which were stationed at Dundee to join him in the north. But two days after their arrival at Colmnakill, an occurrence took place which confirmed the report, and excited the most alarming apprehensions in the mind of the general. Two deserters, having arrived from Dundee's camp, were brought before Mackay for examination. As one of them was recognized as having been a sergeant in Wauchope's regiment in England, from which he had deserted, the general suspected him to be a spy, and threatened to punish him as such if he did not give a satisfactory account of himself. This man thereupon requested a private interview with Mackay; and all the officers, with the exception of Sir Thomas Livingston, having withdrawn, he informed the general, that with few exceptions, all the dragoon officers had entered into a conspiracy to betray him; and he named Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston and Captains Murray, Livingston, and Crichton, and Lieutenant Murray, as the ringleaders. In answer to a demand made by Mackay for proofs of this assertion, the deserters informed him, that they had heard Dundee frequently assure the chiefs of the clans that he could depend upon the dragoons, in proof of which they had seen him read letters from his lady to that effect,

and heard him inform the chiefs, that till he saw a favourable opportunity for requiring the services of the dragoons, he would allow them to remain in the enemy's camp, where they might be useful to him. The deserters concluded by informing Mackay that they had not left Dundee's camp altogether of their own accord, but partly at the instigation of the lairds of Blair and Pollock, who had been carried about by Dundee as prisoners ever since their capture at Perth, and who were anxious to prevent Mackay from engaging, under these circumstances, with such a small party of troops as he then had.

This information, though calculated to shake the general's confidence in the fidelity of these dragoons, was too vague and unsatisfactory to be relied upon. Mackay appears at first to have had some doubts of the truth of the statement; but his unwillingness to believe the accusation gave place to an opposite impression when, after ordering the deserters to be confined in Belcastle, and threatening them with exemplary punishment should it turn out that they were spies sent by Dundee, they expressed themselves quite satisfied to abide the result of any investigation he might institute.

On the removal of the deserters, Mackay requested Sir Thomas Livingston's opinion as to the correctness of the information which had been communicated by them respecting the officers of his regiment. The colonel, who, according to Crichton, was secretly a partisan of the exiled sovereign, told Mackay that he did not believe that the private men were, perhaps, with a very few exceptions, aware of any plot; but he stated, that he himself had of late begun to suspect the fidelity of the officers named, especially since the recent junction of the two troops, as he had often seen them in serious conversation together, which they immediately dropped

on his approach. Mackay, though now satisfied that there were traitors in his camp, took no steps to secure them, but continued to remain in his position waiting for the arrival of Barclay's dragoons and Leslie's foot from Forfar and Cupar Angus, whither he had despatched a trusty Highlander, who had been accustomed to trade in Strathdee and Braemar, and who, consequently, would not be suspected as the bearer of despatches, with an express to hasten their march. Mackay might have retreated down the river, but he was advised to remain at Colmnakill by Sir Thomas Livingston and the laird of Grant, for these reasons, that by retaining his ground, his expected succours would be every day drawing nearer to him, and that every day thus spent would be lost to Dundee, who was prevented, by his presence, from communicating with those places in the low country where he expected reinforcements, particularly in horse, of which he stood in most need. Besides, by retiring, Mackay considered that he might probably be forced to recross the Grampians before the two regiments could join him, in which case, he would leave the whole of the north exposed to Dundee, who would probably avail himself of the opportunity to raise a force too formidable to be encountered.

In the meantime, Dundee sent a detachment of his army to lay siege to the old castle of Ruthven, in which Mackay, on his arrival at Inverness, had placed a garrison of about sixty of Grant's Highlanders, under the command of John Forbes, brother to Culloden. The garrison, being in want of provisions, capitulated on the condition that their lives should be spared, and that they should be allowed to return to their homes on their parole. While conducted through Dundee's camp, Forbes observed all the horses saddled, and his army preparing as if for an immediate march. In proceeding

towards Colmnakill, he met, at the distance of about a mile from Dundee's lines, two men on horseback, one in a red, the other in a blue uniform. The latter immediately challenged him with the usual parole, "Qui vive?" on which Forbes returning the "Vive le Roi Guilleaume," as indicative of his loyalty to the existing government, the man in red informed him, that they had been despatched from Mackay's camp to obtain intelligence of the enemy. Captain Forbes then cautioned the men of the risk they would run if they proceeded farther, but regardless of his advice, they rode forward in the direction of Dundee's camp. Forbes having mentioned this occurrence to Mackay while at dinner the same day, the latter immediately suspected that the officers of dragoons were in communication with Dundee, as he had given no such order as the man clothed in red had pretended. He, thereupon, desired inquiry to be made if any dragoons had been sent out, and by whom; and as blue was the uniform of Livingston's men, he desired them to be instantly mustered to ascertain if any were absent; but the general had scarcely issued these instructions, when some of his scouts brought him intelligence that Dundee's army was moving down the Strath towards Colmnakill. This movement, combined with the information which had been communicated to him by Forbes, left no doubt of the treachery of the dragoons.

Under these circumstances, Mackay had no alternative but an immediate retreat. Calling, therefore, his commanding officers together, he ordered them to put their men under arms and to form them upon the plain in marching order. He next addressed himself to the laird of Grant, and after expressing his regret at the step he was about to take, by which Grant's lands would be left for a short time exposed to the ravages

of Dundee's army, he requested him to order his tenants to drive their cattle down the country out of the reach of the enemy, who would probably overlook them in their anxiety to follow him in his retreat. Grant listened to this advice with becoming attention, but to show how little he regarded his own personal interest, as opposed to what he conceived his duty to his country, he observed, that though he might lose everything by Dundee's invasion of his country, he would not take one step prejudicial to the government.

In fixing the order of his retreat, Mackay adopted the plan he had been accustomed to follow, that he might not excite the jealousy of the dragoons, or make them suspect that he was distrustful of them. Accordingly, as was his usual practice, he divided the dragoons into two bodies, one of which consisting of Major and Captain Balfour's companies, he placed in the rear, and the other four companies commanded by the disaffected officers he placed in the front, that he might overawe them by his own presence. Immediately before the two troops of dragoons which formed the rear-guard, Mackay placed two hundred foot, chiefly grenadiers of the three Scoto-Dutch regiments, and next to them the English horse, then scarcely seventy men strong, and between those horse and the four companies of dragoons which were led by Sir Thomas Livingston, he posted two hundred of Lord Reay's and Balnagown's Highlanders, having previously dismissed Grant's men, whom he had informed their chief he would leave behind to protect their own country from Dundee's stragglers.

There were three ways by which Mackay could retreat, — either towards Inverness, or through Strathdown and Glenlivet, a movement which would bring him near his expected reinforcements, or down Strathspey. Of these routes Mackay would have preferred the

southern; but as the population of Strathdown and Glenlivet was Catholic, and of course hostile to him, and as the ground in those districts was unfavourable to the operations of cavalry in case of attack, he resolved to march down Strathspey. But as he was desirous to conceal his route from Dundee, he did not begin his march till nightfall, at which time Dundee was within three miles of his camp. In his course down Speyside he passed by the house of Grant of Ballindalloch, who was serving under Dundee, and arrived early the following morning at Balveny, where he halted to refresh his men and procure a supply of provisions. There he met Sir George Gordon, of Edinglassie, from whom he obtained some men to act as intelligencers. Some of these he despatched back in the direction he had come, to ascertain if Dundee still remained in the Strath; but apprehensive that Dundee would take a southerly course, by crossing the Strath, with the view of throwing himself between Mackay and his reinforcements, he sent off others in that direction. These scouts soon returned with the intelligence that Dundee was still in Strathspey. This information was satisfactory to Mackay, and relieved him from a state of the most painful anxiety he had been in on his march; but he was still greatly perplexed by the want of provisions, which, though hourly expected, had not yet arrived.

Desirous, however, to wait for supplies as long as consistent with safety, he again despatched some of Gordon's men in the direction he supposed Dundee would take, and at the same time sent out a sergeant with a party of twelve dragoons back by the course he had marched to bring him notice of Dundee's motions. Mackay waited with the greatest impatience till about five o'clock in the evening for the return of the dragoons, without any signs of their appearance, a circumstance

which alarmed him so much that, although a quantity of provisions and oats had just reached his camp, he would not allow time for baking bread or feeding the horses, but gave orders for an immediate march. Accordingly, the whole party moved off in the same order as before, and passed a small river about a mile above the place where they had been encamped; but they had scarcely advanced half a mile when Sir Thomas Livingston, who happened to be a little behind, observed the enemy on the other side of the river they had just passed, marching towards the ford by which Mackay's men had crossed. On being informed of this, Mackay, after ordering Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, who was at the head of the vanguard, to continue at a pretty quick pace, galloped to the rear, and having despatched Sir Thomas Livingston to the front to lead the party, with instructions to keep up a constant pace, but without wearying the troops, he posted himself upon a rising ground with about fifty or sixty horse and dragoons in view of Dundee's army, where he was joined by the master of Forbes with about fifty horse.

When Dundee observed the party of dragoons drawn up on the hillock he immediately halted, drew in his stragglers, and marshalled his men into battalions, keeping up the usual distinction of clans. In the meantime Mackay sent off his nephew, Major Mackay, to a hill which lay about a quarter of a mile to his left, from which he could obtain a nearer and more correct view of Dundee's force and his motions. The viscount's horse immediately passed the river, and drew up along the bank to protect the passage of the foot, who in their turn also formed till the baggage was brought over. It was now after sunset, but the viscount continued to advance. Mackay, who was nearly two miles behind his rear, thereupon began to ride off with his party,

but he had not proceeded far when a cry of "halt!" met his ears. On turning round he observed Major Mackay galloping after him, who, having observed a party of horse which he supposed to belong to Dundee, moving along the face of a hill to the general's left, and which from the twilight appeared more numerous than it really was, had hastened to acquaint the general of the circumstance. Mackay, thereupon, sent an order to Colchester's detachment to halt on the first level spot of ground they should come to. It turned out, however, that this party which had occasioned such alarm was no other than the sergeant with the twelve dragoons of Livingston's regiment which had been sent out by Mackay in the morning to reconnoitre. It was afterward ascertained that this sergeant was concerned in the plot, and that he was the same individual in blue, whom Captain Forbes had met with within a mile of Dundee's camp. This man pretended, however, that he had run great danger of capture; and that he had taken such a roundabout way merely to avoid the enemy, though he and his party had been with Dundee the whole day, and had conducted him over the ground which Mackay had passed on the preceding day. With the exception of a short halt ordered by Sir Thomas Livingston, on a false alarm being spread that Mackay was engaged, the government forces continued their march all night till they crossed the river of Bogie, where, from pure exhaustion, they halted at four o'clock in the morning. The general then ordered the provisions, which had reached the camp previous to his retreat, to be distributed among his troops, and desired the horsemen to lead their horses into an adjoining corn-field and feed them. When the men were refreshing themselves Mackay received the agreeable intelligence that Barclay and Lesley's regiments would join him that day, but

" to play sure game," as he himself says, after allowing his men two hours' rest, he marched three miles further down towards his succours, and took up a position at the foot of Suy hill upon the common road from the south to the north, by which he expected the two regiments would march. But this precaution was unnecessary, as Dundee had halted within three miles of Strathbogie during the night, and spent the following day in laying waste the lands of Edinglassie, and pillaging and destroying the house of Sir George Gordon, the proprietor.

Having sent a pressing order to Barclay and Lesley to hasten their march, Mackay had the satisfaction of being joined by the former at twelve o'clock noon, and by the latter at six o'clock in the evening, after a long and fatiguing march. Resolved that no time should be lost in turning the chase upon Dundee before he should be aware of these reinforcements, Mackay put his army in marching order, and advanced towards him after ten o'clock at night. But his designs were made known to Dundee by two dragoons who had been despatched by their officers. These men, on the departure of Dundee, were discovered in a wood by Sir George Gordon, the master of Forbes, Major Mackay, and others, who, along with some Highlanders, a servant, and a boy belonging to one Captain Bruce, formerly an officer in Livingston's dragoons in the reign of King James, had there concealed themselves. The general being satisfied, on examining the servant and boy, that the sergeant before mentioned had been in Dundee's camp, and that he had had a conference with Dundee, and the two dragoons having confessed nearly as much themselves, he immediately put Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston and the other suspected officers under arrest. He thereupon continued his march, and arrived at Balveny that night, and on the following day reached Colmnakill,

which he had left only five days before. Here, having received notice that a party of Dundee's men was on the other side of the adjoining river, he sent orders to Sir Thomas Livingston to cross with two hundred dragoons and drive them away; but Sir Thomas having been previously informed that the laird of Grant was sorely pressed by the retiring forces of Dundee, had anticipated the general's orders, and had advanced two miles beyond the river with a greater force, in pursuit of a body of Highlanders. These were, according to Balcarras, Sir John Maclean's men, who were on their way to join Dundee, and who, alarmed at the appearance of such a large number of dragoons, threw away their plaids and betook themselves to an adjoining hill, where they formed. They are stated by the last-mentioned author to have amounted only to two hundred men, but Mackay, in his memoirs, states the number at five hundred. Mackay observes, that but for the indiscretion of Livingston's adjutant, who by riding a quarter of a mile in advance gave the Highlanders timeous notice of the approach of the dragoons, not one of them would have escaped, but being thereby enabled to gain the top of the hill before the dragoons came up with them, they sustained a loss of only eighty or a hundred men. In this skirmish, a captain of Barclay's regiment and six dragoons were killed, and some wounded.

Having been joined by Ramsay's detachment, which during the occupancy of Strathspey by the hostile armies had, unknown to Mackay, penetrated through Athole and Badenoch and reached Inverness, Mackay continued to pursue Dundee into Badenoch, but as the latter retired into Lochaber, Mackay gave over the pursuit on learning that Dundee had dismissed the greater part of his forces. Mackay, thereupon, marched to Inverness with Livingston's dragoons, Leslie's foot, and a

party of Leven's and Hastings's regiments, and two hundred Highlanders, and he sent Berkeley's regiment to Strathbogie, where there was abundance of grass, and the three Dutch regiments to Elgin. From Inverness, Mackay despatched an express to the Duke of Hamilton, urging upon him the necessity of placing "a formidable garrison" at Inverlochy, and small ones in other places in the north, without which he considered that it would be utterly impossible to subdue the Highlanders, who, on the approach of an army, for which a fortnight's subsistence could not be found in their mountainous regions, could easily retire to difficult passes and other places inaccessible to regular troops. He, therefore, requested that his Grace and the Parliament would consider the matter before the season was farther spent, and provide the necessary means for carrying such a design into effect against his arrival in the south, whither he intended to proceed in a few days.

On his way to the south, Mackay despatched fifty horse, as many of Berkeley's dragoons, and sixty foot, to take possession of the house of Braemar, into which he intended to place a garrison to keep the Braemar men in check, and to cover the county of Aberdeen; and he ordered the captain of dragoons, after putting twenty of his men into the house, to march forward, without halting, before break of day, to the house of Inverey, about three miles farther off, for the purpose of seizing Inverey and some other gentlemen who had lately been with Dundee. But, fortunately for Inverey and his guests, the officer trifled off his time in Braemar house, refreshing his horses, till the dawn of the morning, and the approach of him and his party being perceived, Inverey and his friends escaped in their shirts to a neighbouring wood. Disappointed of their prey, the party retired to the house of Braemar, where, after

setting their horses loose to graze, they laid themselves down to repose; but they were soon wakened from their slumbers by some firing from a party on a rock above, which had so alarmed the horses that they were found galloping to and fro in the adjoining fields. As soon as the dragoons had caught their horses, which they had some difficulty in doing, they galloped down the country. The party on the rock was headed by Inverey, who had collected a number of his tenantry for the purpose of expelling the dragoons from his bounds, and who, on their retreat, set fire to Braemar house, which was consumed.

The party of foot, which, having charge of a convoy of provisions and ammunition for the intended garrison, had not yet arrived, on hearing of the retreat of the dragoons shut themselves up in a gentleman's house to secure themselves from attack, and the commanding officer sent an express after Mackay, who was then on his way to the south, acquainting him of the failure of the enterprise. On receiving this intelligence, Mackay, although he had not a day's bread on hand, and was in great haste to reach Edinburgh, " to put life in the design of Inverlochy," turned off his course and crossed the hills towards Braemar, with his foot, after giving directions to Berkeley's dragoons to march up Deeside. Finding Braemar house destroyed, and the vaults of it incapable of holding a garrison, Mackay, after burning Inverey's house and laying waste all his lands, descended the river to Abergeldie, where he left a detachment of seventy-two men as a check upon the Farquharsons. And having placed the other troops which he had brought from the north in quarters farther down the Dee, he posted off to Edinburgh, where he arrived in the beginning of July, about a fortnight before the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh, which

capitulated on the fourteenth of June, after a siege of three months.

On his arrival at Edinburgh, Mackay was exceedingly mortified to find that no steps whatever had been taken by the government for putting his design into execution, of erecting a fort at Inverlochy. As the season was now too far advanced to collect materials for such an erection, he proposed in council, that a body of fifteen hundred pioneers should be levied in the northern counties, each of whom should be obliged to carry a spade, shovel, or pickaxe along with him, and that a month's provision of meal, with horses to carry it, should be furnished, along with a force of four hundred men. But this plan, the general himself confesses, "considering the inability, ignorance, and little forwardness of the government to furnish the necessary ingredients for the advance of their service, was built upon a sandy foundation, and much like the building of castles in the air." As an instance of the slowness and irresolution of government, Mackay mentions, that after his return from the north, they took three weeks to deliberate upon the mode of conveying a fortnight's provisions for four hundred men; by which delay he says he lost the opportunity of preventing Dundee from occupying Athole, Badenoch, and other parts of the southern Highlands.

CHAPTER IX

JAMES'S STRUGGLE FOR THE THRONE

THE return of Mackay to the capital, after a fruitless and exceedingly harassing series of marches and countermarches, seems to have abated the ardour of some of the supporters of the government, who, disappointed in their expectations, and displeased at the preference shown by the court to others they considered less deserving than themselves, had become either indifferent about the result of the struggle, or secretly wished for a restoration. That such an event might occur was indeed far from improbable. James was already in possession, with the exception of two cities, of all Ireland, and William was by no means popular in England. To give, therefore, a decided and favourable turn to James's affairs in Scotland nothing was wanting but to aid Dundee immediately with a few thousand men from Ireland; but although the necessity of such a step was urged by Dundee in his communications with the exiled monarch, the latter did not, unfortunately for himself, consider the matter in the same light. The expectation of such a reinforcement, which they confidently looked for, had, however, its due effect upon the minds of the Highlanders, who gladly endured during the recent campaign all those painful privations which necessarily attend an army scantily provided with the means of subsistence. No man was better fitted by nature than Dundee for command under such difficulties, and at the head of such troops. Whilst

by his openness, frankness, and disinterestedness he acquired an ascendency over the minds of the chiefs, he was equally successful by attending personally to their wants, by mixing frequently among them, and by sharing their privations and fatigues, in securing the obedience of the clans. But valuable and important as the services were of such a bold and devoted band, it was evident that without a sudden and powerful diversion from Ireland, or a considerable rising in the Lowlands, it was impossible for Dundee, from the paucity of his forces, and the want of cavalry, to carry the war into the south with any possible chance of success.

As the Irish reinforcements were daily expected, Dundee enjoined the chiefs of the clans, who, with their men, had taken a temporary leave of absence on the departure of Mackay, to rejoin him as soon as possible, and from his headquarters at Moy, in Lochaber, he sent expresses to the other chiefs who had not yet joined him to hasten to the approaching muster.

About the same time he despatched a letter to the Earl of Melfort, in which, after adverting to various circumstances, he advises him to send over from Ireland a body of five or six thousand men to Inverlochy, which he considered the safest landing-place that could be selected as being "far from the enemy," and whence an easy entrance could be obtained for an army into Moray, Angus, or Perthshire. On the return of the transports from Inverlochy, Dundee advised Melfort to send over as many foot as he conveniently could to the point of Cantyre, on hearing of whose landing he would advance as far as the neck of Tarbert to meet them, and that on the junction taking place, Dundee would march "to raise the country," and afterward proceed to the passes of the Forth to meet the king, who, it was supposed, would follow the expedition.

To deceive Mackay and the Scottish council, and to induce them to withdraw their forces from the north, and thus leave him at greater liberty to organize it, Dundee industriously circulated a report that the forces from Ireland would land altogether in some quarter south of the Clyde. To give an appearance of certainty to the rumour, he wrote a letter to Lady Errol, a warm supporter of James's interest, acquainting her of the expected landing in the west, and to prevent suspicion of any ruse being intended, he enclosed some proclamations, which, it is presumed, he intended to issue when the Irish arrived. As wished and anticipated, this despatch was intercepted and sent to Edinburgh. The device appears to have in part succeeded, as Dundee informs Melfort that the government forces were afterward withdrawn from Cantyre.[19]

Whilst Dundee was thus maturing his plans, preparatory to another campaign, Mackay was urging the Privy Council to supply him with a sufficient force, for carrying into effect his favourite plan of erecting a strong fortification at Inverlochy, a circumstance which leads to the supposition that "the General," a term by which Mackay distinguishes himself in his memoirs, had not taken the bait which had been prepared for him by his artful rival, for it is improbable, had Mackay believed the story invented by Dundee, that he would have insisted on carrying such a large force as four thousand men, the number he required, into Lochaber, so very remote from the scene of the threatened invasion.

Having collected his forces, Mackay made the necessary preparations for his departure, but he was detained nearly a fortnight in Edinburgh, beyond the time he had fixed for his march, by the delays of the government, in furnishing meal for his troops, and horses for transporting it. In the meantime he was informed by Lord

Murray, eldest son of the Marquis of Athole, that Stewart of Ballechen, his father's chamberlain, and other gentlemen of the county of Angus had taken possession of the castle of Blair Athole, belonging to the marquis, and were fortifying it for behoof of King James. On receiving this intelligence, Mackay requested an interview with Lord Murray, in presence of the Duke of Hamilton, his father-in-law, at which the young nobleman declared that, from what he knew of the feelings of the men of Athole, he had no hopes of inducing them to join the government forces against Dundee, but he offered to go immediately to Athole, and do everything in his power to obtain possession of the castle of Blair, before Dundee should arrive, as he did not believe that Ballechen and his father's tenants would refuse him admission to his father's house, and he also engaged to collect all his father's vassals together, so as to prevent them from joining Dundee. As Lord Murray's wife was known to be very zealous for the Presbyterian interest, and as his lordship and the marquis his father, who was secretly hostile to the government, were at variance, Mackay gave a ready assent to the proposal, and pressed his lordship eagerly to depart for Athole without loss of time, informing him that all he required from him, was to prevent the Athole men from joining Dundee.

Lord Murray accordingly proceeded to Athole, where he arrived about the beginning of July, and lost no time in summoning his father's vassals to meet him. About twelve hundred of them assembled, but no entreaties could induce them to declare in favour of the government, nor could a distinct pledge be obtained from them to observe a neutrality during the impending contest. His lordship was equally unsuccessful in an application which he made to Stewart of Ballechen, for delivery of Blair castle, who told him in answer that he held the castle

for behoof of King James, by order of his lieutenant-general. The failure of Lord Murray's mission could certainly occasion no disappointment, as it was not to be imagined that a body of men who had all along been distinguished for their attachment to the exiled family, were, contrary to the understood wish of their chief, and contrary to the example set them by his steward, at the call of a young man, who by marriage, and the disagreement with his father, may be supposed to have made himself obnoxious to the men of Athole, all at once to abandon long cherished ideas and to arm in support of a cause in which they felt no interest.

About the period of Lord Murray's arrival in Athole, intelligence was brought to Dundee that a body of five hundred Irish troops, under an officer of the name of Cannan, had reached Mull. The viscount immediately proceeded to Inverlochy to give orders respecting their landing, but, although they all reached the mainland in perfect safety, the ships which carried their provisions, being unnecessarily detained at Mull, were all captured by some English frigates which were cruising amongst the Western Islands. The loss of their stores was a serious evil, and embittered the disappointment felt by Dundee and the chiefs, to find that instead of an efficient force of five or six thousand men, as they had been led to expect, not more than a tenth part had been sent, and even this paltry force was neither properly disciplined, nor sufficiently armed; so that, according to Balcarras, their arrival did " more harm than good." Such also was the opinion of Mackay at the time, as expressed in a letter to Lord Melville.

Having given the necessary orders for bringing up the Irish troops, Dundee returned to Strowan, where he had fixed his headquarters. Here he received a letter which had arrived during his absence at Inverlochy,

from Lord Strathnaver, eldest son of the Earl of Sutherland, couched in very friendly terms, and advising him to follow the example of the Duke of Gordon, as the course he was following, if persisted in, would lead inevitably to his ruin. But Dundee was not the man who would allow his personal interest to interfere with the allegiance which he considered he owed to his exiled sovereign, and while in his answer he expressed a deep sense of the obligation he lay under to his lordship for his advice and offers of service, which he imputed to his lordship's "sincere goodness and concern" for him and his family, he assured him that he (Dundee) had no less concern for him, and that he had been even thinking of making a similar proposal to him, but delayed doing so till his lordship should see things in a clearer point of view.[20]

At Strowan, Dundee was made acquainted by Stewart of Ballechen with Lord Murray's proceedings, and with a demand made by his lordship for possession of Blair castle, a demand to which Ballechen had given the most decided refusal. The possession of this place was of vast importance to Dundee, as it commanded the entrance into the southern highlands, and lay in the line of Mackay's intended route to Inverlochy. To reward his fidelity, and to counteract Lord Murray's influence in Athole, Dundee sent a commission to Ballechen, appointing him colonel of the Athole men. The appointment, however, would probably have been conferred on Lord Murray, to whom Dundee had, on the nineteenth of July, two days before the date of Ballechen's commission, despatched a letter, stating the happiness which he felt on hearing that his lordship had appointed a rendezvous of the Athole men at Blair, and expressing a hope that he would join the viscount with his men; but, instead of answering this letter, his lordship sent it

to Lord Melville, the secretary of state for Scotland. Such also was the fate of other letters, which Dundee sent to Lord Murray. Along with the last, which was written on the twenty-fifth of July, Dundee despatched Major Graham and Captain Ramsay for the purpose of obtaining a personal interview with Lord Murray; but he declined to see them, or to give any answer to Dundee's communication. It appears that up to this time the Athole men, who had, at the call of the son of their chief, assembled to the number of about twelve hundred, were ignorant of Lord Murray's intentions; but when he refused to receive Dundee's officers, they at once began to suspect his designs, and demanded with one voice an immediate explanation, intimating at same time, that if he would join Dundee they would follow him to a man; but if on the contrary he refused, they would all leave him. His lordship remonstrated with them, and even threatened them with his vengeance if they abandoned him; but regardless of his threats, they left him to join Dundee, having previously filled their bonnets with water from the rivulet of Banovy, in the neighbourhood of Blair castle, and pledged themselves to King James by drinking his health.

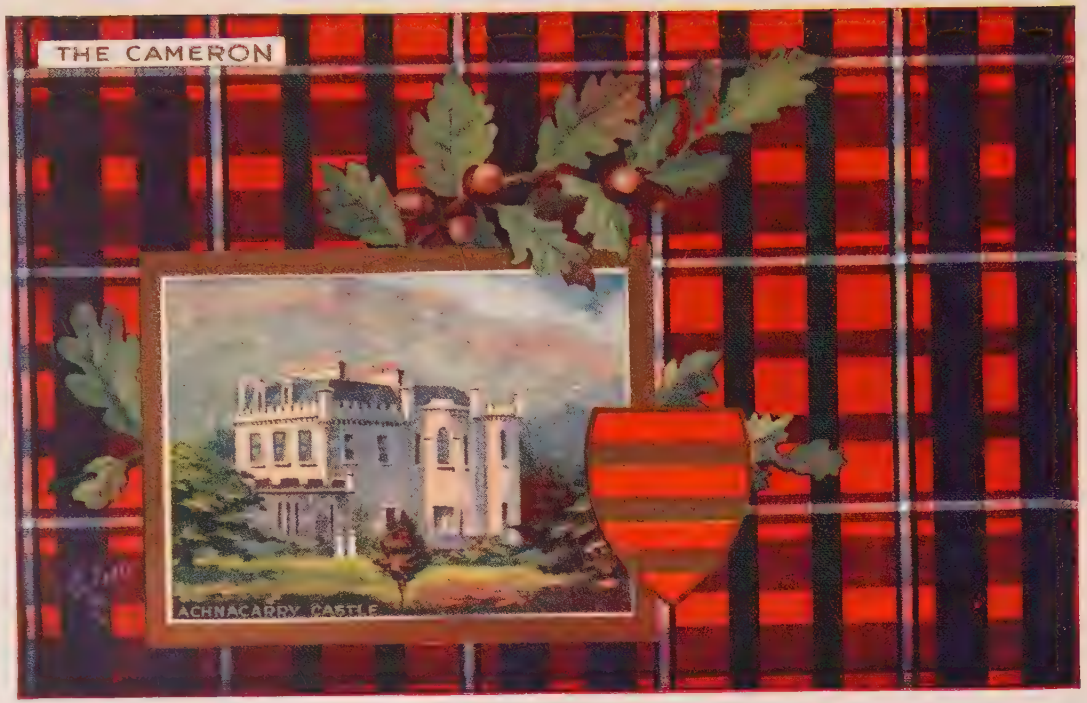
In the meantime, the government general was busily engaged at Edinburgh, making the necessary preparations for his march. He appointed his troops to rendezvous at Perth, and after completing his arrangements at Edinburgh, he went to Stirling to inspect the castle, so as to make himself acquainted with its means of defence. In a letter dated twenty-fourth July, written to Lord Melville on his arrival at Stirling, Mackay alludes to the distracted state of the government in Scotland, and the difficulty he would experience in executing the commission which the king had given him, to keep the kingdom peaceable, in consequence of the

divisions which existed even between the adherents of the government. The removal from office of Stair, the president of the Court of Session, and his son, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the ultra Whig party, by their attempts to stretch the royal prerogative too far, appears to have been considered by that party of more importance than keeping Dundee in check, and so high did the spirit of party run, that the Earl of Annandale and Lord Ross, who had just been appointed colonels of two newly-raised regiments of horse, refused to accompany their regiments, and offered to resign their commissions rather than quit the Parliament. This state of matters was highly favourable to James's interests in Scotland, and if Melfort had followed Dundee's advice, by sending over a large force from Ireland, the cause of his royal master might have triumphed, but with that fatality which attended that unfortunate monarch in all his undertakings, he allowed the golden opportunity which was here offered him, of recovering his crown, to slip away.

From Stirling Mackay proceeded to Perth, after ordering the troops of horse and dragoons of the expedition to follow him. On arriving at Perth, a letter was shown him from Lord Murray, from which he learned that Dundee, who had been solicited by Stewart of Ballechen to hasten into Athole, was already marching through Badenoch, and so anxious was he to anticipate Mackay's arrival in Athole, that he had left behind him several chiefs and their men, whose junction he daily expected. Lord Murray added, that if Mackay did not hasten his march so as to reach Athole before Dundee, that he would not undertake to prevent his men from joining the viscount. As Mackay informs us, that before leaving Edinburgh he had begun "already to have very ill thoughts of the expedition in gross," and as on reaching

Stirling, the idea that he would be straitened for provisions haunted his mind, this information was assuredly by no means calculated to relieve these fearful apprehensions; but he had gone too far to retrace his steps with honour, and he therefore resolved to proceed immediately on his march into Athole, for the following reasons as stated by himself, although four troops of dragoons and two of horse had not yet joined him.

In the first place, by stopping at Perth, Mackay considered, from the information sent by Lord Murray, that the Athole men, "making 1500, as reputed men for arms as any of the kingdom," would certainly join Dundee. Secondly. He considered that by remaining at Perth, he would be allowing time to Dundee to get up his expected reinforcements, from the isles and other distant places, and to collect forces in Badenoch, Monteith and Mar. Thirdly. By permitting Dundee to establish himself in Athole, he would have an opportunity of raising some horse, in which he was very deficient, in the adjoining Lowlands, particularly in Angus, where there were many gentlemen friendly disposed to him. But fourthly, and apart from these considerations, Mackay was afraid that as his forces were more numerous than those of Dundee, "the ill-affected of the nation" would, in the event of any apparent backwardness on the part of the government forces to meet Dundee's troops, take advantage of the circumstance, by representing matters in a light unfavourable to the military courage of Mackay's army, and thus add to the boldness of the disaffected. And lastly, as the possession, by Mackay, of the castle of Blair, was in his opinion the only means of keeping the Athole men, (who from their numbers and strict attachment to the house of Stewart were more to be dreaded than any other body of Highlanders) in awe, and preventing them from


THE CAMERON
ACHNACARRY CASTLE

joining Dundee, he had no alternative but to allow Dundee to roam uncontrolled through the disaffected district of Athole, gathering strength at every step, or to attempt to gain the important fortress of Blair.

Such were the grounds, as stated by Mackay in his own exculpation, which made him resolve upon marching into Athole, and which, he observes, "more capable commanders might readily be deceived in." Those who make the unfortunate result of this movement the rule of their judgment will be apt to condemn Mackay's conduct on this occasion as rash and injudicious, but when his own reasons are duly weighed, censure should be spared, or if used at all, should be but sparingly employed. There can be no doubt, that had he been as successful at Killiecrankie as he was unfortunate, he would have been applauded for the exercise of a sound discretion, and regarded as a tactician of the highest order.

It was on the twenty-sixth of July, 1689, that Mackay began his fatal march from Perth at the head of an army of 4,500 men. Of this force, notwithstanding that the four troops of dragoons and two of horse already alluded to had not yet arrived, a fair proportion consisted of cavalry. At night Mackay encamped opposite to Dunkeld, so celebrated for the romantic grandeur of its scenery. Here, at midnight, he received an express from Lord Murray announcing the alarming intelligence that Dundee had entered Athole, in consequence of which event he informed him that he had retreated from before the castle of Blair, which he had for some time partially blockaded; and that although he had left the strait and difficult pass of Killiecrankie between him and Dundee, he had posted a guard at the further extremity to secure a free passage to Mackay's troops through the pass which he supposed Dundee had already reached. Mackay seems

to have doubted the latter part of this statement, and his suspicions were in some degree confirmed by the fact that Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder, whom he despatched with a party immediately on receipt of Murray's letter, to secure the entrance into the pass from the vale of Blair, did not see a single man on his arrival there.

Discouraging as this intelligence was, Mackay still determined to persevere in his march, and having despatched orders to Perth to hasten the arrival of the six troops of cavalry he had left behind, he put his army in motion next morning at daybreak, and proceeded in the direction of the pass, the mouth of which he reached at ten o'clock in the morning. Here he halted, and allowed his men two hours to rest and refresh themselves before they entered upon the bold and hazardous enterprise of plunging themselves into a frightful chasm, out of which they might probably never return. To support Lauder in case of attack, the general, on halting, despatched through the pass a body of two hundred men under the command of the lieutenant-colonel of the Earl of Leven's regiment, whom he instructed to send him any intelligence he could obtain of Dundee's motions. A short way below the pass Mackay fell in with Lord Murray, who informed him, in answer to an interrogatory put by the general, that with the exception of two or three hundred men, who still remained with him, the whole had gone to the hills to secure their cattle, an answer which Mackay, with the open and unsuspecting generosity of a soldier, considered satisfactory, and made him, as he observes, "not so apt to judge so ill of Murray as others did."

Having received a notice from Lauder that the pass was clear, and that there was no appearance of Dundee, Mackay put his army again in motion, and entered the pass in the following marching order: The battalions

of Balfour, Ramsay, and Kenmure entered the pass first, each in succession, followed by Belhaven's troop of horse. These were again successively followed by Leven's regiment (now the twenty-fifth) and a battalion under the command of the general. The baggage horses, amounting to upwards of twelve hundred, came next, followed by the Earl of Annandale's troop of horse, and Hastings's regiment (now the thirteenth), which formed the rear-guard. These last were placed behind to protect the baggage, from an apprehension that Dundee's Highlanders might make a détour round the hill to attack it, or that the country people might attempt to plunder it if not so guarded. The idea that no opposition would be offered to their passage through this terrific defile, which seemed to forbid approach, and to warn the unhappy soldier of the dangers which awaited him should he precipitate himself into its recesses, may have afforded some consolation to the feelings of Mackay's troops as they entered this den of desolation; but when they found themselves fairly within its gorge, their imaginations must have been appalled as they gazed, at every successive step, on the wild and terrific objects which encompassed them on every side. But unlike the Hessians, who, in 1745, refused even to enter the pass, from an apprehension that it was the utmost verge of the globe, they proceeded, at the command of their general, on their devious course, and finally cleared it, with the loss of a single horseman only, who, according to an Athole tradition, was shot by an intrepid adventurer, named Ian Ban Beg MacRan, who had posted himself on a hill, whence with murderous aim he fired across the rivulet of the Garry and brought down his victim. A well, called in Gaelic, "Fuaran u trupar," *Anglicé*, the horseman's well, is shown as the place where the horseman fell.

As soon as the five battalions and the troop of horse

which preceded the baggage had debouched from the further extremity of the pass, they halted, by command of the general, upon a corn-field, along the side of the river to await the arrival of the baggage, and of Hastings's regiment and the other troop of horse. Mackay then ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder to advance with his two hundred fusileers and a troop of horse in the direction he supposed Dundee might be expected to appear. This conjecture was too well founded, for Lauder had not advanced far when he discovered some parties of Dundee's forces between him and Blair. Being immediately apprised of this by Lauder, Mackay, after giving orders to Colonel Balfour to supply the troops with ammunition, and to put them under arms without delay, galloped off to the ground, from which Lauder had espied the enemy, to observe their motions before making choice of the field of battle. On arriving at the advanced post, Mackay observed several small parties of troops, scarcely a mile distant, marching slowly along the foot of a hill in the direction of Blair, and advancing towards him. Mackay, thereupon, sent orders to Balfour to advance immediately up to him with the foot. But these orders were no sooner despatched than he observed some bodies of Dundee's forces marching down a high hill within a quarter of a mile from the place where he stood, in consequence of which movement, he immediately galloped back to his men to countermand the order he had just issued, and to put his army in order of battle.

Dundee, who had been duly advertised of Mackay's motions, had descended from the higher district of Badenoch into Athole on the previous day, with a force of about twenty-five hundred men, of whom about one-fifth part consisted of the Irish, which had lately landed at Inverlochy under Brigadier Cannan. Some of the

clans which were expected had not yet joined, as the day appointed for the general rendezvous had not then arrived; but as Dundee considered it of paramount importance to prevent Mackay from establishing himself in Athole, he did not hesitate to meet him with such an inferior force, amounting to little more than the half of that under Mackay.

On his arrival at the castle of Blair, intelligence was brought Dundee that Mackay had reached the pass of Killiecrankie, which he was preparing to enter. At a council of war, which was held in the castle, Dundee was strongly advised by the most of his officers to dispute the passage of the pass, as they did not consider it safe, from the great numerical disparity of the two armies, to allow Mackay to enter the Blair till the arrival of the reinforcements, which might be expected to join in two or three days. Dundee, however, was of quite a different opinion, and after appealing to the feelings of the Highlanders, whose ancestors, he said, acting upon their national maxim never to attack a foe who could not defend himself on equal terms, would have disdained to adopt the course proposed (and in saying so he did not, he observed, mean to insinuate that the persons he addressed had degenerated from the honour and courage of their ancestors), he proceeded to give his reasons for rejecting the advice offered him, and which at once convinced them that he was right. One principal reason, stated by Dundee for allowing Mackay to advance through the pass unmolested, was the great advantage they would gain by engaging him on open ground before he should be joined by his English dragoons, who, from their being so formidable to the Highlanders, would, if allowed by him to come up, more than compensate any accession of force which Dundee might receive. Another reason not less important was,

that in the event of Mackay sustaining a defeat, his army would probably be ruined, as he could not retreat back through the pass without the risk of evident destruction, whereas should the Highlanders suffer a defeat, they could easily retreat to the mountains. He added that, in anticipation of Mackay's defeat, he had already given orders to his friends in the neighbourhood to cut off the few remaining stragglers that might attempt to escape.

The forces which had been descried by Lauder appear to have been a body of four hundred men under the command of Sir John Maclean, whom Dundee, on learning that the advanced guard of Mackay's army, after traversing the pass, had taken up a position near its northern extremity, had despatched from Blair castle to keep them in check. But his scouts having shortly thereafter brought him notice that the whole of Mackay's army was preparing to enter the pass, he resolved to make a détour with the main body of his army round the hill on which the castle of Lude stands, in the vicinity of the pass, and fall upon Mackay as soon as he should clear that defile. Having made himself acquainted, by inquiries among the most intelligent of the country people, with the localities in the immediate neighbourhood of the pass, and of the suitableness of the ground for the operations of such a force as his, he advanced at double-quick time from Blair along the present line of road, and on arriving at the river Tilt, turned off to the left round the back of the hill, and crossed that river near its confluence with the rivulet of Ald-Chluan. This movement will account for the sudden and unexpected appearance of Dundee on the face of the high hill on Mackay's right.

Immediately above the ground on which Mackay had halted his troops is an eminence, the access to which is

steep and difficult, and covered with trees and shrubs. Alarmed lest Dundee should obtain possession of this eminence, which being within a carabine shot from the place on which Mackay stood, would give him such a command of the ground as would enable him, by means of his fire, to force Mackay to cross the river in confusion, he, immediately on his return from the position occupied by his advanced guard, "made every battalion form by a *quart de conversion* to the right upon the ground where they stood," and then made them march each in succession before him up the hill till they reached the eminence, of which they took possession. Within a musket shot of this ground is another eminence immediately above the house of Urrard, which Dundee had reached before Mackay had completed his ascent, and on which he halted.

At this conjuncture, neither Hastings's regiment nor Annandale's troop of horse had yet come out of the pass, but Mackay, nevertheless, at once proceeded to arrange his men in fighting order on a plain between the edge of the eminence and the foot or commencement of the ascent to Dundee's position, which, from its extent, enabled him to form his men in one line along the eminence. In making his dispositions, Mackay divided every battalion into two parts, and as he meant to fight three deep, he left a small distance between each of these sub-battalions. In the centre of his line, however, he left a greater interval of space behind which he placed the two troops of horse, with the design, when the Highlanders, after the fire of the line had been spent, should approach, to draw them off by this larger interval, and flank the Highlanders on either side, as occasion should offer. Mackay assigns as his reason for placing his cavalry in his rear till the fire should be exhausted on both sides, a dread he entertained of exposing them

to Dundee's horse, which consisted altogether of gentlemen, reformed officers, or such as had deserted, from Dundee's regiment when in England, and with whom it could not be supposed that these newly raised levies could cope. Hastings's regiment, which arrived after Mackay had taken up his ground, was placed on the right, and to which, for greater security, was added a detachment of firelocks from each battalion, and on the extreme left on a hillock covered with trees, Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder was posted, with his party of two hundred men, composed of the *élite* of the army. Mackay, having been recognized by Dundee's men busily employed riding along his line, from battalion to battalion, giving orders, was selected by some of them for a little ball practice; but although "their popping shot," which wounded some of his men, fell around him wherever he moved, he escaped unhurt.

After his line had been fully formed, Mackay rode along the front, from the left wing, which he committed to the charge of Brigadier Balfour, to the right, and having ascertained that everything was in readiness to receive the enemy, he addressed the battalions nearest him in a short speech. He began by showing them the unquestionable justice of the cause in which they were engaged, and in the success of which the Protestant interest, not only in Britain, but throughout the world, was involved. He represented to them that the defence of that interest, as well as the temporal happiness of their country, which it was the object of its laws to maintain and confirm, mainly depended on the success of their enterprise, and he desired them to remember that they were bound by honour and conscience, not to betray, by a criminal faint-heartedness, the service of the master by whom they were supported. He requested them to reflect that their own personal safety

was involved in the issue of that day's contest; and assured them that if they maintained their ground, and kept firmly and closely united together, their assailants would quickly flee before them for refuge to the hills, — that the reason for which the Highlanders stripped themselves almost naked before battle was rather to enable them to escape, than from any hopes they entertained of pursuing their foes. Should, however, his men unfortunately give way before the rabble of Highlanders whom they saw marshalled on the adjoining heights, — an event which he by no means expected, — there was an absolute certainty, as these naked mountaineers were more nimble-footed than they were, and as all the Athole men were in arms, ready to take advantage of their defeat, that few or none of them would escape with their lives. In conclusion, he warned them that the only way to avoid ruin was to stand firm to their posts, and, like brave men, to fight to the last in defence of their religion and liberties, against the invaders of both, to secure which, and not the desire of a crown, was the sole reason which had induced his Majesty to send them on the present service.

Whilst Mackay was thus occupied on the lower platform, his gallant rival was equally busy flying about on the eminence above, ranging his men in battle array. He was particularly distinguished amongst his officers by a favourite dun-coloured horse which he rode, and by his plated armour, which glittered in the sunbeams. Dundee, who had arrived upon the higher platform about the same time that Mackay had gained the ground he now occupied, ranged his men in one line in the following order: On the right, he placed Sir John Maclean, with his regiment divided into two battalions. On the left, he posted the regiment of Sir Donald Macdonald, commanded by the young chief and Sir George Berkeley,

and a battalion under Sir Alexander Maclean. In the centre were placed four battalions, consisting of the Camerons, the Macdonells of Glengary and Clan Ranald, and the Irish regiment, with a troop of horse under the command of Sir William Wallace, who had early that morning produced a commission, to the great displeasure of the Earl of Dunfermline and other officers, appointing him colonel of a horse regiment. It may be observed that neither Mackay nor Dundee placed any body of reserve behind their lines.

The great extent of Mackay's line, which reached considerably beyond Dundee's wings, compelled the latter, to prevent the danger of being outflanked, to enlarge the intervals between his battalions. A general movement from right to left accordingly took place along Dundee's line. Before Dundee's left halted, Mackay, imagining that the object of the movement in that quarter was to get between him and the pass, for the purpose of cutting off all communication between him and Perth, made his line make a corresponding movement to his right, but on observing that Dundee's left wing halted, Mackay brought his line to a stand. These different movements necessarily occupied a considerable time, and both armies being now finally arranged, they gazed upon each other with great composure for the space of two complete hours.

During this interval of care and anxious suspense, the feelings of both parties, — their hopes or their fears, — would probably be tinctured by a deeper hue of confidence or despondency as they reflected on the events of former days. Though more than forty years had elapsed since the brilliant achievements of Montrose, the Highlanders, naturally brave, had lost none of their military ardour, and the descendants of the heroes of Tippermuir, Aldearn, and Kilsyth, who now stood

embattled on the upper plain, whence, with a scowl of scorn and defiance, they looked down upon the Sassenachs below, calling to mind the recital of the heroic deeds of their fathers, to which they had listened with wonder and enthusiasm in their childhood, would burn for the moment, when, at the command of their chiefs, they should measure their broadswords with the bayonets of their Lowland foes. On the other hand, Mackay's men had no such recollections to inspire confidence or to cheer them in their perilous enterprise, and when they beheld the Highland host ready at a moment's notice to burst like a mountain torrent upon their devoted heads, and called to mind the tales they had heard of the warlike prowess of the Highlanders, they could not but recoil at the idea of encountering, in mortal and deadly strife, such determined antagonists. There were, it is true, many men in Mackay's army to whom the dangers of the battle-field were familiar, and in whose minds such reflections would doubtless find no place, but the great majority of his troops consisted of newly raised levies, who had never before seen the face of an enemy.

Mackay himself, though an old and experienced officer, and a brave man, was not without his misgivings; and as the evening advanced without any appearance on the part of Dundee to commence the action, his uneasiness increased. Nor were his apprehensions likely to be allayed by the reply made by the second son of Lochiel, who held a commission in his own regiment of Scots fusileers, in answer to a question put to him by Mackay. "Here is your father with his wild savages," said Mackay to the young man, on seeing the standard of the Camerons, putting on at the same moment an air of confidence, "how would you like to be with him?" "It signifies little," answered the son of the chief,

"what I would like, but I recommend to you to be prepared; or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer to you before night than you would like." The apparent irresolution of the Highlanders to begin the battle was considered by Mackay as intentional, and he supposed that their design was to wait till nightfall, when, by descending suddenly from their position, and setting up a loud shout, according to their usual custom, they expected to frighten his men, unaccustomed to an enemy, and put them in disorder. As Mackay could not, without the utmost danger, advance up the hill and commence the action, and as the risk was equally great should he attempt to retreat down the hill and cross the river, he resolved, at all hazards, to remain in his position, "though with impatience," as he observes, till Dundee should either attack him or retire, which he had better opportunities of doing than Mackay had. To provoke the Highlanders, and to induce them to engage, he ordered three small leather field-pieces to be discharged, but they proved of little use, and the carriages being much too high, for the greater convenience of carriage, broke after the third firing.

Toward the close of the evening, some of Dundee's sharpshooters, who had kept up, during the day, an occasional fire in the direction in which they observed Mackay to move, by which they had wounded some of his men, as already stated, took possession of some houses upon the ascent which lay between the two armies, for the purpose of directing their aim with surer effect. But they were immediately dislodged by a party of musketeers despatched by Mackay's brother, who commanded the general's regiment, and chased back to their main body with some loss. This skirmish Mackay supposed would soon draw on a general engagement, and his expectations were accordingly speedily realized.

It was within half an hour of sunset, and the moment was at hand, when, at the word of command, the Highlanders and their allies were to march down the hill, and, with sword in hand, fall upon the trembling and devoted host below, whom, like the eagle viewing his destined prey from his lofty eyry, they had so long surveyed. Having determined, as much to please his men as to gratify his own inclination, to lead the charge in person, at the head of the horse, Dundee exchanged his red coat, which he had worn during the day, and by which he had been recognized by Mackay's troops, for another of a darker colour, to conceal his rank, and thereby avoid the risk of being singled out by the enemy, — a precaution justifiable by the rules of sound prudence, and quite consistent with the highest moral courage. That nothing might be wanting on his part to work up the feelings of his men to the highest pitch of heroism, he harangued them in the following enthusiastic strain:

"You are come hither to fight, and that in the best of causes; for it is the battle of your king, your religion, and your country, against the foulest usurpation and rebellion. And having therefore so good a cause in your hands, I doubt not but it will inspire you with an equal courage to maintain it; for there is no proportion betwixt loyalty and treason, nor should there be any betwixt the valour of good subjects and traitors. Remember that to-day begins the fate of your king, your religion, and your country. Behave yourselves, therefore, like true Scotsmen, and let us by this action redeem the credit of this nation, that is laid low by the treacheries and cowardice of some of our countrymen, in making which request, I ask nothing of you that I am not now ready to do myself. And if any of us shall fall upon this occasion, we shall have the honour of dying on our duty, and as becomes true men of valour

and conscience; and such of us as shall live and win the battle, shall have the reward of a gracious king and the praise of all good men. In God's name, then, let us go on, and let this be your word — King James and the Church of Scotland, which God long preserve!"

A pause now ensued, and a death-like silence prevailed along the line, when, on a sudden, it appeared in motion, marching slowly down the hill. The Highlanders, who stripped themselves to their shirts and doublets, and whose appearance resembled more a body of wild savages than a race of men, who, although they could not boast of the civilization of the inhabitants of the south, were nevertheless superior to them in many of the virtues which adorn humanity, advanced, according to their usual practice, with their bodies bent forward, so as to present as small a surface as possible to the fire of the enemy, the upper part of their bodies being covered by their targets.

To discourage the Highlanders in their advance by keeping up a continual fire, Mackay had given instructions to his officers commanding battalions, to commence firing by platoons, at the distance of a hundred paces. This order was not attended to, as Balfour's regiment, and the half of Ramsay's, did not fire a single shot, and the other half fired very little. The Highlanders, however, met with a very brisk fire from Mackay's right, and particularly from his own battalion, in which no less than sixteen gentlemen of the Macdonells of Glengarry fell; but, undismayed by danger, they kept steadily advancing in the face of the enemy's fire, of which they received three rounds. Having now come close up to the enemy, they halted for a moment, and having levelled and discharged their pistols, which did little execution, they set up a loud shout and rushed in upon the enemy, sword in hand, before they had time to screw

on their bayonets to the end of their muskets.[21] The shock was too impetuous to be long resisted by men who, according to their own general, " behaved, with the exception of Hastings's and Leven's regiments, like the vilest cowards in nature." But even had these men been brave, as they were pusillanimous, their courage would not have availed them, as their arms were insufficient to parry off the tremendous strokes of the axes, and the broad and double-edged swords of the Highlanders, who, with a single blow, either felled their opponents to the earth or struck off a member from their bodies, and at once disabled them. While the work of death was thus going on toward the right, Dundee, at the head of the horse, made a furious charge on Mackay's own battalion, and broke through it, on which the English horse, which were stationed behind, fled without firing a single shot. Dundee, thereupon, rode off to attack the enemy's cannon, but the officer who had that morning produced his commission as colonel of the horse, did not keep pace with Dundee, who, on arriving near the enemy's cannon, found himself alone. He, therefore, gave the horse a signal to advance quickly, on which the Earl of Dunfermline, who then served only as a volunteer, overlooking the affront which had been put upon him, rode out of the ranks, followed by sixteen gentlemen, attacked the party who guarded the cannon and captured them.

As soon as Mackay perceived that Dundee's grand point of attack was near the centre of his line, he immediately resolved to attack the Highlanders in flank with the two troops of horse which he had placed in the rear of his line, for which purpose he ordered Lord Belhaven to proceed round the left wing with his own troop, and attack them on their right flank, and he ordered at the same time the other troop to proceed in

the contrary direction, and assail them on their left. Mackay himself led round Belhaven's troop, but it had scarcely got in front of the line when it got into disorder, and instead of obeying the orders to wheel for the flank of the enemy, after some confused firing it turned upon the right wing of Lord Kenmure's battalion, which it threw into disorder, and which thereupon began to give way.

At this critical moment Mackay, who was instantly surrounded by a crowd of Highlanders, anxious to disentangle his cavalry, so as to enable him to get them formed, called aloud to them to follow him, and putting spurs to his horse galloped through the enemy, but with the exception of one servant whose horse was shot under him, not a single horseman attempted to follow their general. When he had gone sufficiently far to be out of the reach of immediate danger, he turned round to observe the state of matters, and to his infinite surprise he found that both armies had disappeared. To use his own expression, "in the twinkling of an eye in a manner," his own men as well as the enemy were out of sight, having gone down pell-mell to the river where his baggage stood. The flight of his men must have been rapid indeed, for although the left wing, which had never been attacked, had begun to flee before he rode off, the right wing and centre still kept their ground.

Mackay now stood in one of the most extraordinary predicaments in which the commander of an army was ever placed. His whole men, had, as if by some supernatural cause, disappeared almost in an instant of time, and he found himself standing a solitary being on the mountain side, not knowing what to do, or whither to direct his course. Whether, had they had the courage to follow him, the timid troop would have turned the tide of victory in his favour, may indeed be well doubted;

but it is obvious that he adopted the only alternative which could render success probable. Judging from the ease with which he galloped through the Highlanders, who made way for him, he thinks that if he had had but fifty resolute horse such as Colchester's, he "had certainly," as he says, "by all human appearance recovered all," for although his whole line had begun to give way when he ordered the horse to follow him, the right of the enemy had not then moved from their ground. While ruminating upon the "sad spectacle" which he now beheld, his mind preyed upon by the most gloomy reflections, he fortunately espied to the right, "a small heap of red coats," which he immediately galloped for, and found it to consist of a part of the Earl of Leven's regiment mixed with a few stragglers from other regiments who had escaped from the swords of the Highlanders. The earl himself, his lieutenant-colonel, the major, and most of the other officers of the regiment were with this body, and were thanked by Mackay for their steadfastness, and as some confusion had taken place in their ranks, owing to the mixture of the stragglers with Leven's men, he directed the earl and his officers to put them in order to receive the enemy in case of attack. After issuing this order, Mackay perceived a part of Hastings's regiment marching up to the ground it had occupied at the commencement of the action. Having rode up to this party, he was informed by the colonel that he had left his ground in pursuit of the enemy, a detachment of which had attempted to outflank him, but having wheeled to the right upon them with his pikes, they abandoned the idea of attacking him, and repaired to their main body, which they observed among the baggage at the river-side.

The plunder which the baggage offered was too tempting a lure for the Highlanders, whose destructive progress

it at once arrested. It was in fact solely to this thirst for spoil that Mackay and the few of his men who escaped owed their safety, for had the Highlanders continued the pursuit, it is very probable that not a single individual of Mackay's army would have been left alive to relate their sad disaster.

As soon as Mackay had got up Hastings's battalion and joined it to that of Leven's, he despatched his nephew, Captain Mackay, — who, though he had received eight broadsword wounds on his body, was still able to ride his horse, — in quest of such of his officers as might be within his reach, about the bottom of the hill, with orders to collect as many of their men as they could and join the general; and to induce them to exert themselves in rallying their men, Captain Mackay was directed to assure them of his uncle's favour. Whether from the trepidation of the officers, or the alarm of the men, the united troops of Hastings's and Leven's regiments could not be brought into order, a circumstance which induced Mackay, during the absence of his nephew, to visit a garden behind his position, with the intention of entrenching them within its walls, and there wait for the junction of such of his stragglers as might find their way thither from the vale below; but as he could not depend upon such succours, and as, in case of attack, he saw no hope of effecting an escape if he shut himself up within the enclosure, he resolved to remain in his position till the arrival of his nephew.

At length, after nearly an hour's absence, Captain Mackay made his appearance, and reported that he had fallen in with several officers; that some of them whom he had addressed took no notice of him; and that all who had survived the battle were now scattered far beyond his reach. While receiving this afflicting intelli-

gence Mackay descried in the twilight a large body of men, who appeared to form themselves along the edge of a wood on Balfour's left, where Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder had been posted with two hundred men. As he was not yet aware of the fate of Lauder's corps, which was among the first that fled, he supposed that the body he had observed might either be that party or another body of his men who had retired to the wood on the descent of the Highlanders, and he therefore rode off to reconnoitre them, after directing his officers to endeavour to put their men in a condition to fire one discharge, at least, if attacked. Mackay approached the party sufficiently near to discover that they were Dundee's men, and having turned his horse's head he walked slowly back, that he might not excite the apprehensions of the Highlanders. The situation of Mackay was extremely embarrassing, but he conducted himself throughout with a presence of mind which few men would have displayed under such circumstances. The ground on which Mackay stood with the wreck of his army, amounting to scarcely four hundred men, was the farthest removed of any other part of the position he had selected in the morning, from the point to which he was necessarily obliged to direct his retreat, and over the intervening space he could not but expect to fall in with parties of the Highlanders, who would fall upon him, and kill or disperse his tired followers. But he extricated himself from the difficulties which beset him with considerable adroitness. He told his men that the only way to make the enemy respect them, and thus secure a quiet retreat, was to show no symptoms of fear, and he, therefore, earnestly admonished them to march slowly and keep firmly together, as if determined to maintain themselves against any attack. He advised them on no account to show any inclination to run,

as it could not add to their personal safety, but, on the contrary, might endanger it the more, as the Highlanders, observing their terror, would certainly break in among them, and pursue them with the greater avidity. He enforced this advice by remarking that the fewness of their numbers would be concealed from the enemy by the darkness of the night, and that their confidence might lead to a belief that they were more numerous than they were. When about to retire down the hill the party were joined by Lord Belhaven, a lieutenant and cornet of Annandale's troop, and four or five horsemen, who proved very serviceable as scouts during the retreat. Mackay then led his men slowly down the hill and evaded the enemy so completely that he did not meet with the least interruption in his march. He retired across the Garry without molestation, and made a short halt to ascertain whether he was pursued. Seeing no disposition on the part of the Highlanders to follow him, he began to think of the best way of retiring out of Athole. All his officers advised him to return to Perth through the pass of Killiecrankie, but he saw proper to reject this advice, and resolved to march several miles up Athole and cross over the hills to Stirling. It was represented to him, that if pursued by the Highlanders, his men could make no effectual resistance, and he himself admitted that the objection was well founded; but he still adhered to his resolution, because, as he apprehended more danger from Dundee's horse than from the Highlanders, who would be too busy securing their plunder to think of pursuing him, his risk would be less by keeping upon ground inaccessible to the operations of cavalry, than by exposing himself in the open country beyond the pass. Besides, he had no certainty that the pass was not already secured, for the purpose of cutting off his retreat, and to have entered it, if seized

upon, would have been throwing himself into the jaws of instant destruction.

Giving orders, therefore, to his men to march, he proceeded to the west along the bank of the river, and had the satisfaction, when about two miles from the field of battle, to come up with a party of about 150 fugitives almost without arms, under the command of Colonel Ramsay, who was quite at a loss what direction to take. Mackay then continued his march along the edge of a rivulet which falls into the Garry, till he came to some little houses. Here he obtained, from one of the inhabitants, information as to the route he meant to follow, and having made himself acquainted, as far as he could, by an examination of his map, with the situation of the country through which he had to pass, he crossed the stream and proceeded across the hill toward Weem castle, the seat of the chief of the Clan Menzies, whose son had been in the action with a company of a hundred Highlanders he had raised for the service of the government. He reached the castle before morning after a most fatiguing journey, where he obtained some sleep and refreshment, of which he stood greatly in need, having since his departure before Dunkeld, on the morning preceding, marched about forty miles through a tract of country, the greater part of which was beset with quagmires and precipices.

The news of Mackay's defeat had preceded his retreat; and on his march during the following day, he found the country through which he passed in an uproar, and every person arming in favour of King James. The people of Strathtay, alarmed at the approach of Mackay's men, whom they took to be Highlanders, and considering their houses and cattle in danger, set up a dreadful shout, which so frightened Mackay's men that they began to flee back to the hills under an apprehension

that the Highlanders were at hand. Mackay and some of his officers on horseback, by presenting their pistols and threatening the fugitives, succeeded in rallying them, but owing to the thickness of the morning more than a hundred escaped, all of whom were killed, stripped, or taken prisoners by the country people. Mackay continued his march with very little halting all that day, being Sunday, the twenty-eighth of July, and arrived late at night at Drummond castle, in which he had a garrison. Next day he reached Stirling with about four hundred men.

On the morning after the battle, — for night had thrown its sable curtain over the horrors of the scene, before the extent of the carnage could be ascertained, — the field of battle and the ground between it and the river, extending as far as the pass, presented an appalling spectacle in the vast numbers of the dead which strewed the field, and whose mutilated bodies attested the savage and unrelenting ferocity with which Mackay's men had been hewn down by the Highlanders. Here might be seen a skull which had been struck off above the ears by a stroke from a broadsword; there a head lying near the trunk from which it had been severed; here an arm or a limb; there a corpse laid open from the head to the brisket; while interspersed among these lifeless trunks, *dejectaque membra*, were to be seen broken pikes, small swords and muskets, which had been snapped asunder by the athletic blows of the Lochaber axe and broadsword.[22]

If the importance of a victory is to be reckoned by the comparative numbers of the slain, and the brilliant achievements of the victors, the battle of Killiecrankie may well stand high in the list of military exploits. Considering the shortness of the combat, the loss on the part of Mackay was prodigious. No less than two

thousand of his men fell under the swords and axes of Dundee's Highlanders, and about five hundred were made prisoners. Among the slain were Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay, brother of the general, Brigadier Balfour, and several other officers. Highland tradition reports that Balfour was cut down by the Reverend Robert Stewart, a Catholic clergyman, nephew to Stewart of Ballechen, for having contemptuously refused to receive quarter when offered him by the priest. The same tradition relates that Stewart, who was a powerful muscular man, followed the enemy in their flight down to the river, and toward the pass, wielding a tremendous broadsword, with which he cut down numbers of the fugitives, and so much did he exert himself in the use of his fatal weapon, that, at the conclusion of the carnage, his hand had swollen to such an extent, that it could only be extricated from the basket-hilt of his sword by cutting away the network.

But as the importance of a victory, however splendid in itself, or distinguished by acts of individual prowess, can only be appreciated by its results, the battle of Killiecrankie, instead of being advantageous to the cause of King James, was, by the death of the brave Dundee, the precursor of its ruin. After he had charged at the head of his horse, and driven the enemy from their cannon, he was about to proceed up the hill to bring down Sir Donald Macdonald's regiment, which appeared rather tardy in its motions, when he received a musket shot in his right side, immediately below his armour. He attempted to ride a little, but was unable, and fell from his horse mortally wounded, and almost immediately expired.[23] The loss on the side of Dundee was never properly ascertained, nor can any estimate be formed of it. According to Mackay, the Highlanders lost six times the number of men that fell

on his side in the fire from his line; but, as he says that the fire of the Highlanders did "little or no execution," the loss on the part of the latter could not consequently be very great. The brunt of Mackay's fire fell upon the Macdonells of Glengarry, with whom the action commenced, and who, of course, were the principal sufferers; but it seems probable that in the *melee* which followed, and in the chase to the river, the loss of the Highlanders from the irresistible impetuosity of their attack, and the feebleness of their opponents, would be trifling.

Among the slain, Alister Dhu (black Alexander), the chief of Glengarry, who, at the head of his battalion, mowed down two men at every stroke, with his ponderous two-handed sword, had to lament the loss of a brother, several other relatives, and still nearer and dearer to him, of his son, Donald, surnamed Gorm, from the blueness of his eyes. This youth, who had exhibited early proofs of bravery worthy of his name, and the race whence he sprung, killed, it is said, eighteen of the enemy with his own hand. No less than five cousins of Sir Donald Macdonald of the isles fell together, with the tutor of Macdonald of Largo, and his sons. Colonel Gilbert Ramsay, and the brave laird of Pitcur, "who, like a moving castle in the shape of men, threw fire and sword on all sides," were also numbered with the dead on this eventful day.[24]

In the Viscount Dundee, King James lost the only man in Scotland possessed of all the qualifications necessary for conducting to a successful issue the great and important charge which had been committed to him by his sovereign. Educated in the strictest principles of Toryism, he could never divest his mind of the abstract ideas of passive obedience and hereditary right, and to him, therefore, any attempt to resist the authority of

the sovereign, no matter how far abused, appeared highly treasonable. Hence the unrelenting perseverance with which he hunted down the field conventicles, which made him the terror of the unfortunate Whigs, and earned for him the unfortunate designation of the "Bloody Clavers." Though a thorough-paced and, in some degree, a bigoted Protestant Episcopalian, the heresy of the successor of Charles II, as the religion of James must have appeared to him, in no respect altered his ideas of implicit fidelity to the sovereign, nor did his views undergo any change when the arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings of James seemed to the leading men of the nation to have solved the great political problem, when resistance should commence and obedience end. In his eyes, therefore, the revolution which drove the unfortunate James from his throne was a great national sin, which could only be atoned for by restoring to him his crown, an object, in the accomplishment of which he conceived all good men were bound to lend a helping hand. These ideas, ingrafted upon a temperament peculiarly sanguine, made him an enthusiast in favour of hereditary right, and his appointment by the fallen monarch as the chosen one by whose instrumentality his restoration was to be effected, imparted a charm to his enthusiasm which dispelled every difficulty which appeared to obstruct the grand object of his ambition and his hopes. With an inflexibility of purpose, which no temptation could overcome, he steadily pursued the course which the duty he conceived he owed to his sovereign and the natural inclination of his own mind directed him to follow. But Dundee had not merely the will, but what was of no less importance, the ability, had he lived, to have executed the commission entrusted to him. While as a military commander he had few equals, he stood unrivalled among

his contemporaries in the art of gaining the affections of his troops, and communicating to them a full measure of the spirit which animated himself. His death, therefore, was a fatal blow to James's prospects, and with him the cause of the Stuarts may be said to have perished. Dundee and his friend Pitcur were interred in the church of Blair of Athole.

END OF VOLUME III.

NOTES

1. This report fortunately appears to be belied by the following entries in Balfour's Annals, seventeenth and nineteenth January, 1646. "The Earl of Tullibardine humbly petitions the House that they would be pleased to pardon his brother, William Murray's life, in respect he averred on his honour, that he was not *compos mentis*, as also within age." "The Earl of Tullibardine again this day gave in a humble petition to the House for prolonging the execution of that sentence pronounced against his brother."

2. This speech is too long for insertion, but the most interesting parts of it are here given.

"You will expect to hear from me somewhat of the cause for which I am brought hither at this time to suffer in this kind; which I am bound to do, for clearing the integrity of mine own proceedings, vindicating his Majesty's just and pious intentions, and withal to undeceive you that are muzzled in ignorance, and made to believe that you are tied in conscience, to set forward this unnatural rebellion, masked under the cover and pretext of propagating religion, and maintaining of public liberty.

"You have perceived by the fact which hath gone before, viz., tearing of my arms, etc., that I stand here adjudged to die by this pretended Parliament, as a traitor to the states, and enemy to my native country. This is a treason unheard of before in this kingdom; against the states, a thing of a new creation, which, I believe, there be some would have erected in opposition to the just and lawful authority of the king, under which we and our predecessors have been so many hundreds of years governed.

"To come to the particulars of my treasonable demeanour, as they term it, the main one is, that I did bring down a commission of lieutenancy from his Majesty to the Lord Marquis of Montrose, with a proclamation for indicting a Parliament by the king's authority, wherein the lord marquis was the commissioner. Not to excuse myself upon the necessity laid upon me to obey his Majesty's command in a business of that nature, in regard of the charge I had about him; I cannot so far betray mine own conscience, as to keep

up from you my judgment of the thing itself; seeing it may both tend to the justifying of the king's part, and your better information, for lack whereof I know many are entangled in this rebellion unwittingly; and who knoweth but God, in His merciful providence, hath brought us hither, to be the instruments of freeing you from the manifold delusions that are made use of to ensnare you.

"I say, then, it was just and necessary to his Majesty to grant such commissions, and, by consequence, an act of duty in me to perform what he was pleased to command me.

"It is known well enough what contentment his Majesty gave to the kingdom at his last being here, both in the affairs of church and policy; notwithstanding whereof the world seeth what meeting he hath got from us. When this rebellion first burst out in England, all that he desired of us was only to stand neutral, and not to meddle between him and his subjects there. Of which moderate desire of his little reckoning was made. But on the contrary, at the request of these rebels, by the power of their faction amongst us, an army was raised and sent into England, to assist them against their own native king.

"His Majesty being reduced to this extremity, what expedient could he find so fair and easy, as to make use of the help of such of his loyal subjects as he knew had such unparalleled disloyalty in horror and detestation? Amongst whom, that matchless mirror of all true worth and nobility, the Lord Marquis of Montrose, having offered himself, it pleased his Majesty to give him a subaltern commission first; which he having executed with such unheard-of success, that his memory shall be had in honour for it, in all ages, his Majesty, for the better furthering of his own service, and to countenance and encourage him the more in it, gave an absolute one, and, independent, thereafter; which is that I delivered into his hands by his Majesty's command. Here withal, his Majesty, pitying the miseries of this poor kingdom, occasioned by the rebellious stubbornness of a few factious spirits, thought fit to give a power to the said lord marquis to call a Parliament in his own name, to try if by that means a remedy might be found against the present evils.

"And in all this, I see not what can be justly upon his Majesty, or upon me his servant, who have done nothing against any authorized law of the kingdom, but have served him faithfully, unto whom by trust and natural allegiance I owe so much."

The day before his execution Sir Robert wrote a letter to the Marquis of Montrose offering the "last tribute of his service," and

expressing a hope that "the king's cause" would be advanced by his death. He encouraged the marquis to go on and crown the work he had "so gloriously" begun, and recommended to him to pursue the course he had hitherto followed, "by fair and gentle carriage, to gain the people's affection to their prince, rather than imitate the barbarous inhumanity" of his adversaries. Sir Robert concluded by recommending his orphans and his "brother's house" to his care.

3. MONTROSE, — I am in such a condition as is much fitter for relation than writing, wherefore I refer you to this trusty bearer, Robin Ker, for the reasons and manner of my coming to this army; as also what my treatment hath been since I came, and my resolutions upon my whole business. This shall, therefore, only give you positive commands, and tell you real truths, leaving the *why* of all to this bearer. You must disband your forces, and go into France, where you shall receive my further directions. This, at first, may justly startle you, but I assure you, that, if for the present, I should offer to do more for you, I could not do so much, and that you shall always find me your most assured, constant, real, and faithful friend, CHARLES R.

Newcastle, May 19, 1646.

4. "I am not without hope that I shall be able to draw either the Presbyterians or Independents with me, for extirpating the one or other, that I shall be easily king again." — *Carte's Ormond*, iii. 462.

5. July 16, 1646.

6. Amongst the many items set up by the English Parliament against the claims of the Scots, there was one, according to Bishop Guthry, of £80,000 sterling, "for the cabbage the Scots had devoured!"

7. According to Clarendon, the king was, by one of these bills, to have confessed himself the author of the war, and guilty of all the blood which had been spilt; by another, he was to dissolve the government of the church, and grant all lands belonging to the church to other uses; by a third, to settle the militia without reserving so much power to himself as any subject was capable of; and in the last place he was in effect to sacrifice all those who had saved him, to the mercy of the Parliament. But Doctor Lingard has shown how little credit is due to these assertions, by giving the substance of these bills. The first, after vesting the command of the army in the Parliament for twenty years, enacted, that after that period, whenever the Lords and Commons should declare

the safety of the kingdom to be concerned, all bills passed by them respecting the forces by sea or land should be deemed acts of Parliament, even though the king, for the time being, should refuse his assent. The second declared all oaths, proclamations, and proceedings against the Parliament during the war void, and of no effect. The third annulled all titles of honour granted since the twentieth of May, 1642, and deprived all peers, to be created hereafter, of the right of sitting in Parliament, without the consent of the two Houses; and the fourth gave to the Houses the power of adjourning from place to place at their discretion.

8. The following stanza was written by Montrose at Brussels on hearing of the death of the king: —

> "Great, good, and just! could I but rate
> My griefs to thy too rigid fate,
> I'd weep the world to such a strain,
> As it would deluge once again:
> But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies,
> More from Briareus' hands than Argus' eyes,
> I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
> And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds."

9. 'Tis said that Argyle's expressions had something of grief in them, and did likewise weep at the rehearsal of his death (for he was not present at the execution). Howsoever, they were by many called crocodiles' tears, how worthily I leave to others' judgment. But I am sure there did in his son, Lord Lorne, appear no such sign, who neither had so much tenderness of heart as to be sorry, nor so much paternal wit as to dissemble, who, entertaining his new bride (the Earl of Moray's daughter) with this spectacle, mocked and laughed in the midst of that weeping assembly; and, staying afterward to see him hewn in pieces, triumphed at every stroke which was bestowed upon his mangled body. — *Montrose Redivivus.*

The dismembered portions of Montrose's body were disposed of in terms of the sentence. Lady Napier, the wife of Montrose's esteemed friend and relation, being desirous of procuring his heart, employed some adventurous persons to obtain it for her. They accomplished this object on the second day after the execution, and were handsomely rewarded by her ladyship. The heart was embalmed by a surgeon, and after being enshrined in a rich gold urn, was sent by her to the eldest son of the marquis, then in Flan-

ders. The family of Napier possess a portrait of Lady Napier, in which there is a representation of the urn. — *Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland.*

After the Restoration, the trunk was disinterred, and the other remains collected, and on 11th May, 1661, were deposited with great solemnity by order of Charles II, in the family aisle in St. Giles's church. The remains of Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetty were honoured with a similar mark of respect on the same day. For an account of the ceremonial, see Nos. 27 and 28 of the Appendix to "Wishart's Memoirs."

10. Hurry was at first condemned by the Parliament to perpetual banishment, "but the Commission of the Kirk voted he should die, and thereupon sent ther moderator, with other two of their number, to the Parliament House, who very saucilly, in face of that great and honourable court (if it had not been then a body without a head) told the president and chancellor that the Parliament had granted life to a man whom the law had appointed for death, being a man of blood (citing these words of our blessed Saviour to Peter — 'All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword'); whereas, it was very weill knoune, all the blood that that unfortunate gentleman had shed in Scotland was in ther quarrell and defence, being but then engaged in his master's service, when he was taken prisoner, and executed at the kirk's instigatione.

"The Parliament was sae farre from rebuking ther bold intruders, or resenting those acts of the Commission of the Kirk, now quyte besyde ther master's commissione, as they will have it understood, and ther owne solemne professione not to meddle in secular affairs, that they rescinded their former act, and passed a sentence of death upon him, hereby imitating ther dear brethren, the Parliament of England, in the caice of the Hothams." — *Memoirs of the Somerville Family.*

11. "His constancy at death show well he repented nothing he did, in order to his allegiance and Majesty's service, to the great shame of those who threatened him with their apocryphal excommunications, to which he gave no more place than our Saviour to the devil's temptations." — *Relation of the True Funerals of the Great Lord Marquesse of Montrose.*

12. The practice of auricular confession seems to have existed to a considerable extent among the Covenanters. It is singular that had it not been for the evidence of the minister of Ormiston, to whom the noted Major Weir had communicated his secrets in auricular confession, he would not have been convicted.

13. Alluding to Lilburn's expedition, Balfour says: "The Frassers came in to them, and condiscendit to pay them cesse; bot Glengarey stood out, and in effecte the heighlandmen fooled them home againe to the lowlandes; some with faire wordes; others stoode to ther defence; and the Inglishe finding nothing amongest them save hunger and strokes, were glad (ther bisquet and cheesse being all spent, and ther clothes worne, with their horsses out-tyred) to returne, cursing the heighlandes, to ther winter quarters." He says that General Dean "lost some few men and horsses in viewing of the heighlanders." But Overton encountered the greatest danger, — for, says the same writer, "If my Lord Marquesse of Argyle had not protected him, he and all that wes with him had gottin ther throttes cutte. So, weill laughin at by the heighlanders, he wes forced to returne with penurey aneuche, werey glade all of them that ther lives were saved."

14. "They (the English) did not permit the General Assembly to site (and in this I believe they did no bad office) for both the authority of that meetting was denyed by the protesters, and the assembly seemed to be more sett upon establishing themselves than promoving religion. . . . Besides the ministers, after some years, began to look at the questions about which they had decided as inconsiderable. And what did it import, whether the king was a real covenanter and presbyterian, as the public resolutioners said, or that he hade only dissembled for his interest, as the protesters said, while in the meantime he was a banished man, and out of case either to fulfill or violate his covenant?" — *Kirkton.*

15. "And I verily believe there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time, than in any season since the Reformation, though of treeple its duration. Nor was there ever greater purity and plenty of the means of grace than was in their time. Ministers were painful, people were diligent; and if a man hade seen one of their solemn communions, where many congregations mett in great multitudes, some dozen of Ministers used to preach, and the people continued, as it were, in a sort of trance (so serious were they in spiritual exercises) for three days at least, he would have thought it a solemnity unknown to the rest of the world." — *Ibid.*

"It is not to be forgotten, that from the year 1652 to the year 1660, there was great good done by the preaching of the Gospell in the west of Scotland, more than was observed to have been for twenty or thirty years before; a great many brought in to Christ

Jesus by a saving work of conversion, which occasioned through ministers preaching nothing all that tyme but the gospell, and had left off to preach up parliaments, armies, leagues, resolutions and remonstrances, which was much in use before, from the year 1638 till that time 52, which occasioned a great number of hypocrytes in the church, who, out of hope of preferment, honour, riches, and worldly credit, took on the forme of godliness, but wanted the power of it." — *Law's Memorials.*

16. " A rumour went that there was a witch-wife named Muddock who had promised to the M'Lains, that, so long as she lived, the Earle of Argile should not enter Mull; and indeed, many of the people imputed the rise of that great storme under her paction with the devil, how true I cannot assert." — *Law's Memorials.*

17. " It is reported that the earl, in his agitation, dropt the lady's gown, when about to pass the sentinel at the castle gate; but she, with admirable presence of mind, snatched up her train from the mud, and in a pretended rage, threw it in Argyle's face, with many reproaches of ' careless loun,' etc., which so besmeared him, that his features were not recognized." — *Note to Law's Memorials, by Sharpe, p.* 210.

18. General Hugh Mackay was son of Colonel Hugh Mackay of Scowry. He first entered the Venetian service, in which he distinguished himself. Leaving the service of that republic, he went to France, where he obtained a captaincy in Douglas's regiment. After serving under Marshal Turenne, in the campaign in the Netherlands, in 1672, Captain Mackay offered his services to the Prince of Orange, who gave him the commission of major in one of the Scotch regiments, then serving in Holland. After reaching the rank of colonel in the Dutch service, Mackay was invited to England by James II, from whom, on the fourth of June, 1685, he received the appointment of major-general, or commander-in-chief, of the forces in Scotland; and he was admitted a member of the Scottish Privy Council, by virtue of a warrant from the king, dated the eighteenth of the same month. But disliking the arbitrary proceedings of James, or preferring the service of his son-in-law, Mackay resigned his commission and returned to Holland. The prince raised him to the rank of major-general, and gave him the command of the British regiments, with which he invaded England. By a warrant signed by William and Mary, dated from Kensington, fourth January, 1689, Mackay was appointed " major-general of all forces whatever, *within our ancient kingdom of Scotland.*" This assumption of the sovereign authority without waiting for the

determination of the Convention was guarded against by the following entry in their records: "Edinburgh, 28th March, 1689. The estates of this kingdom considering that the King of England, in pursuance, of his acceptation of the administration of the public affairs of this kingdom, till the meeting of the estates had sent down Major-General Mackay, with some Scots regiments under his command, for the security of the estates, and general peace of the kingdom; they do acknowledge the great kindness and care of the King of England; and do hereby warrant and authorize the said Major-General Mackay to command any forces, either standing or to be raised, with the militia, within this kingdom, etc." Mackay was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general in 1696, and was killed at the battle of Steinkirk, 3d August, 1692.

19. "*For the* EARL *of* MELFORT

"MOY IN LOCHABER, June 27, 1689.

[After exculpating himself from a charge made against him by the earl, of his name having been "made use of for carrying on designs against the earl," Dundee thus proceeds: —]

"When we first came out I had but fifty pounds of powder; more I could not get, all the great towns and seaports were in rebellion, and had seized the powder, and would sell none. But I had one advantage, the Highlanders will not fire above once, and then take to the broadsword. . . . The advocate is gone to England, a very honest man, firm beyond belief; and Athol is gone too, who did not know what to do. Earl Hume, who is very frank, is taken prisoner to Edinburgh, but he will be let out on security. Earl Breadalbin keeps close in a strong house; he has and pretends the gout. Earl Errol stays at home; so does Aberdeen. Earl Marshall is at Edinburgh, but does not meddle. Earl Lauderdale is right, and at home. The bishops, I know not where they are. They are now the kirk invisible. I will be forced to open the letter, and send copies attested to them, and keep the original, till I can find out our primate. The poor ministers are sorely oppressed over all. They generally stand right. Duke Queensberry was present at the cross, when their new mock king was proclaimed, and I hear, voted for him, though not for the throne vacant. His brother the Lieutenant General, some say is made an Earl. He has come down to Edinburgh, and is gone up again. He is the old man, and has abused me strangely, for he swore to me to make amends. Tarbat is a great villain. Besides what he has done at Edinburgh, he has endeavoured

to seduce Lochiel, by offers of money, which is under his hand. He is now gone up to secure his faction, which is melting, the two Dalrymples and others against Skelmarly, Polwart, Cardross, Ross, and others now joined with that worthy prince, Duke Hamilton. M. Douglas is now a great knave, as well as beast; as is Glencairne, Morton, and Eglinton, and even Cassillis is gone astray, misled by Gibby. Panmure keeps right, and at home, so does Strathmore, Southesk, and Kinnaird. Old Airly is at Edinburgh under caution, so is Balcarras and Dunmore. Stormont is declared fugitive for not appearing. All these will break out, and many more, when the King lands, or any from him. Most of the gentry on this side the Forth, and many on the other, will do so too. But they suffer mightily in the mean time; and will be forced to submit, if there be not relief sent very soon. The Duke of Gordon, they say, wanted nothing for holding out but hopes of relief. Earl of Dunfermling stays constantly with me, and so does Lord Dunkell, Pitcur, and many other gentlemen, who really deserve well, for they suffer great hardships. When the troops land there must be blank commissions sent for horse and foot, for them and others that will join.

"My lord, I have given my opinion to the king concerning the landing. I would first have a good party sent over to Inverlochy, about 5,000 or 6,000, as you have conveniency of boats; of which as many horse as conveniently can. About 600 or 800 would do well, but rather more; for had I had horse for all that yet appeared, I would not have feared them. Inverlochy is safe landing, far from the enemy, and one may chuse from thence, to go to Murray by Inverness, or to Angus by Athol, or to Perth by Glencoe, and all tolerable ways. The only ill is, the passage is long by sea and inconvenient, because of the island; but in this season that is not to be feared. So soon as the boats return, let them ferry over as many more foot as they think fit, to the Point of Kintyre, which will soon be done; and then the king has all the boats for his own landing. I should march towards Kintyre, and meet at the neck of Tarbitt the foot, and so march to raise the country, and then towards the Passes of Forth, to meet the king, when I doubt not we would be numerous. I have done all I can, to make them believe the king will land altogether in the west, on purpose to draw their troops from the north, that we may the easier raise the country, if the landing be here. I have said so, and written it to everybody; and particularly I sent some proclamations to my Lady Errol, and wrote her to that purpose, which was intercepted and carried to Edinburgh,

and my lady taken prisoner. I believe it has taken the effect designed; for the forces are marched out of Kintyre, and I am just now informed, M. G. M'Kay is gone from Inverness, by Murray, towards Edinburgh. I know not what troops he has taken with him as yet; but it is thought he will take the horse and dragoons except a few, and most of the standing forces, when, if he do, it will be a rare occasion for landing here, and for raising the country. Then, when they hear of that, they will draw this way, which will again favour the king's landing. . . . The landing of troops will confound them terribly. I had almost forgot to tell you, that P—— O——, as they say, has written to his Scotch Council, telling them he will not have his troops any more harassed following me through the hills; but orders them to draw to the west, where he says a great army is to land; and, at the same time, gives them accounts, that eight sail of men-of-war is coming from Brest, with 15,000 men on board. . . . If there come any party this way, I beg you send us ammunition, and three or four thousand arms of different sorts, some horse, some foot. I have just now received a confirmation of Mackay's going south; and that he takes with him all the horse and dragoons, and all the standing foot; by which I conclude, certainly they are preparing against the landing in the west."

20. "*For the* Viscount of Dundee

"My Lord: — The concern that many equally interested in us both,[1] has for your lordship, abstracting from that respect which your own merit made me have, cannot but occasion regrate in me, to see that the courses you take tend inevitably to the ruin of you and yours, if persisted in. I cannot, therefore, but wish, that you would follow the Duke of Gordon's example, and I am persuaded it will be found the best course; neither shall your friends, who at this time dare not well meddle, be wanting to show their affection to you, and interest in the standing of your family; and I hope you will do me the justice to believe that none wishes it better, or will more effectually lay himself out in it, than

"My Lord, etc.

"Strathnaver.

"Inverness, 3d July, 1689."

[1] Lord Strathnaver was married to Helen, second daughter of William Lord Cochrane, and sister to Lady Dundee.

NOTES

DUNDEE'S ANSWER

"*For* Lord Strathnaver

"Stroan, 15th July, 1689.

"My Lord: — Your lordship's, dated the 3d. I received the 13th, and would have returned an answer before now, had I not been called suddenly to Enverlochie, to give orders anent the forces, arms and ammunition sent from Irland. My lord, I am extremely sensible of the obligation I have to you, for offering your endeavours for me, and giving me advice in the desperate estate you thought our affairs were in. I am persuaded it flows from your sincere goodness and concern for me and mine, and in return, I assure your lordship I have no less concern for you, and was thinking of making the like address to you; but delayed it till things should appear more clear to you. I am sorry your lordship should be so far abused as to think that there is any shadow of appearance of stability in this new structure of government, these men have framed to themselves. They made you, I doubt not, believe that Darie (Londonderry) was relieved three weeks ago. By printed accounts, and I can assure you it never was relieved, and now is taken. They told you the English fleet and Dutch were masters of the sea. I know for certain the French is, and in the Channel; in testimony whereof they have defeated our Scots fleet. For as they came alongst, they fell on the two frigates, killed the captains, and seized the ships, and brought the men prisoners to Mull. They tell you Shomberg is going to Irland to carry the war thither. I assure you the king has landed a considerable body of forces there, and will land himself amongst our friends in the west, whom I am sorry for, very soon. So, my lord, having given you a clear and true prospect of affairs, which I am afraid among your folks you are not used with, I leave you to judge, if I, you, or your family, or myn, be most in danger. However, I acknowledge francly, I am no less obliged to your lordship, seeing you made me an offer of your assistance in a time when you thought I needed it. Wherein I can serve your lordship or family in any time you think convenient, you may freely employ me, for, as far as my duty will allow me in the circumstances we stand, I will study your weyl, as becomes,

"My Lord,

"Your most humble servant,

"Dundie."

21. From this circumstance Mackay invented the present plan of fixing the bayonet.

22. In allusion to this battle, the author of the memoirs of Viscount Dundee says, "Then the Highlanders fired, threw down their fusils, rushed in upon the enemy with sword, target, and pistol, who did not maintain their ground two minutes after the Highlanders were amongst them; and I dare be bold to say, that were scarce ever such strokes given in Europe as were given that day by the Highlanders. Many of General Mackay's officers and soldiers were cut down through the skull and neck to the very breast; others had skulls cut off above their ears like night-caps; some soldiers had both their bodies and cross-belts cut through at one blow; pikes and small swords were cut like willows; and whoever doubts of this, may consult the witnesses of the tragedy."

23. The letter, of which a copy is subjoined, and alleged to have been written by Dundee to King James, after he received his wound, is said to have been discovered among the Nairn papers, and is printed by Macpherson among his original papers, vol. i, p. 372. But the authenticity of this letter may well be doubted.

1st. No contemporary writer mentions its existence, not even the king himself, who, in a letter to Stewart of Ballechen, dated 30th Nov., 1689 (Stewart's sketches, vol. i, p. 64), alludes to Dundee as having fallen at the "*entrance into action.*"

2d. It is proved that Dundee died upon the field of battle immediately after receiving his wound. King James says, that "when crossing over the plaine to give some orders on the left where the enemy made the most opposition, he was most unfortunately *killed* by a random shot." Clarke's James II, vol. ii, p. 352. See also Father Hay's Collections, vol. ii, p. 55, MS., Advocates' Library. Crawfurd's Peerage, published in 1716, and Balcarras's Memoirs. Depositions of the witnesses who were examined before the Parliament in the process of treason, appendix, pp. 56, 57, 59, to acts of Parliament, 1690.

These authorities, which are referred to by George Smythe of Methven, Esquire, in a note on the supposititious letter of Dundee, in a collection of Dundee's letters, printed by him as his contribution to the Bannatyne club, are supported by the following MS. note, communicated to that gentleman by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharp, Esquire, written on a copy of Balcarras's memoirs, in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, upon the passage of Balcarras relative to a bundle of papers which was found lying near Dundee on the field, which, Balcarras says, those who stripped him thought of so little concern, that they left them behind.

"N.B. — I spoke with some that were at that fight, and saw the

Viscount of Dundee's corps naked upon the ground, and was of the number that wrapt it in a pladd, and brought it off the field to the Blair of Athole; they said they saw no papers, nor was there any such rumour among them; so that I suspect that this passage was not in Balcarras's originall narrative, but interpolated by the first gentleman that brought it from France, who, they said, was Cockburn of Ormiston, Justice-Clerk at the time."

The alleged letter from DUNDEE *to the* KING *is as follows:*

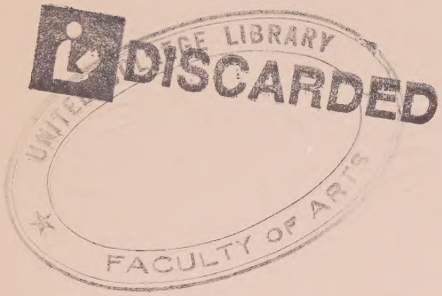
"SIR: — It hath pleased God to give your forces a great victory over the rebels, in which three-fourths of them are fallen under the weight of our swords. I might say much of the action, if I had not the honour to command it; but of 5,000 men, which was the best computation I could make of the rebels, it is certain there have not escaped 1,200. We have not lost full out 900. This absolute victory made us masters of the field and enemy's baggage, which I gave to the soldiers; who, to do them all right, both officers and common men, Highlands, Lowlands, and Irish, behaved themselves with equal gallantry to what I ever saw in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies; and this M'Kay's old soldiers felt on this occasion. I cannot now, Sir, be more particular; but take leave to assure your Majesty the kingdom is generally disposed to your service, and impatiently wait for your coming; and this success will bring in the rest of the nobility and gentry, having had all their assurance for it, except the notorious rebels. Therefore, Sir, for God's sake, assist us, though it be with such other detachment as you sent us before, especially of horse and dragoons; and you will crown our beginning with a complete success, and yourself with an entire possession of your ancient hereditary kingdom of Scotland. My wounds forbid me to enlarge to your Majesty at this time, though they tell me they are not mortal. However, I beseech your Majesty to believe, whether I live or die,

"I am entirely yours,

"DUNDEE."

24. "In this battle Lochiel was attended by the son of his foster-brother. This faithful adherent followed him like his shadow, ready to assist him with his sword, or cover him from the shot of the enemy. Soon after the battle began, the chief missed his friend from his side, and turning round to look what had become of him, saw him lying on his back, with his breast pierced by an arrow.

He had hardly breath before he expired to tell Lochiel that, seeing an enemy, a Highlander in General Mackay's army, aiming at him with a bow and arrow from the rear, he sprung behind him, and thus sheltered him from instant death. This is a species of duty not often practised, perhaps, by an aid-de-camp of the present day." — *Stewart's Sketches.*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